This is a digital copy of a book that was preserved for generations on library shelves before it was carefully scanned by Google as part of a project to make the world's books discoverable online.

It has survived long enough for the copyright to expire and the book to enter the public domain. A public domain book is one that was never subject to copyright or whose legal copyright term has expired. Whether a book is in the public domain may vary country to country. Public domain books are our gateways to the past, representing a wealth of history, culture and knowledge that's often difficult to discover.

Marks, notations and other marginalia present in the original volume will appear in this file - a reminder of this book's long journey from the publisher to a library and finally to you.

Usage guidelines

Google is proud to partner with libraries to digitize public domain materials and make them widely accessible. Public domain books belong to the public and we are merely their custodians. Nevertheless, this work is expensive, so in order to keep providing this resource, we have taken steps to prevent abuse by commercial parties, including placing technical restrictions on automated querying.

We also ask that you:

+ *Make non-commercial use of the files* We designed Google Book Search for use by individuals, and we request that you use these files for personal, non-commercial purposes.

+ *Refrain from automated querying* Do not send automated queries of any sort to Google's system: If you are conducting research on machine translation, optical character recognition or other areas where access to a large amount of text is helpful, please contact us. We encourage the use of public domain materials for these purposes and may be able to help.

+ *Maintain attribution* The Google "watermark" you see on each file is essential for informing people about this project and helping them find additional materials through Google Book Search. Please do not remove it.

+ *Keep it legal* Whatever your use, remember that you are responsible for ensuring that what you are doing is legal. Do not assume that just because we believe a book is in the public domain for users in the United States, that the work is also in the public domain for users in other countries. Whether a book is still in copyright varies from country to country, and we can't offer guidance on whether any specific use of any specific book is allowed. Please do not assume that a book's appearance in Google Book Search means it can be used in any manner anywhere in the world. Copyright infringement liability can be quite severe.

About Google Book Search

Google's mission is to organize the world's information and to make it universally accessible and useful. Google Book Search helps readers discover the world's books while helping authors and publishers reach new audiences. You can search through the full text of this book on the web at `http://books.google.com/`

The Modern Traveller: Turkey

Josiah Conder

Geog 520.25.
HC 152
HARVARD COLLEGE
LIBRARY

THE BEQUEST OF
EVERT JANSEN WENDELL
(CLASS OF 1882)
OF NEW YORK

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

THE

MODERN TRAVELLER.

VOLUME THE FOURTEENTH.

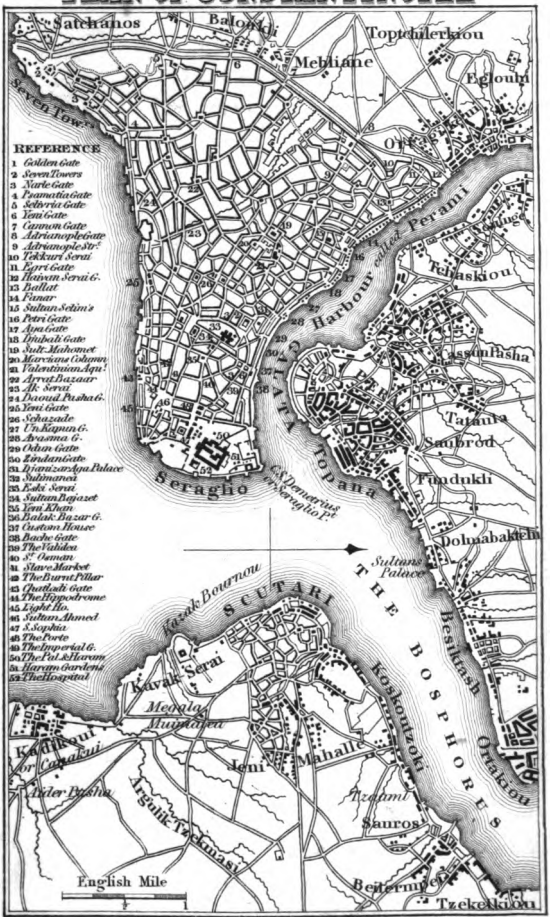
TURKEY.

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

PLAN OF CONSTANTINOPLE



Pub. by J. Duncan Paternoster Row Jan.y 1827 Sid.y Hall sculp

Digitized by Google

THE

MODERN TRAVELLER.

A

DESCRIPTION,

GEOGRAPHICAL, HISTORICAL, AND TOPOGRAPHICAL,

OF THE

VARIOUS COUNTRIES OF THE GLOBE.

IN THIRTY VOLUMES.

By JOSIAH CONDER.

VOLUME THE FOURTEENTH.

LONDON:

JAMES DUNCAN, 37, PATERNOSTER-ROW.

MDCCCXXX.

Digitized by Google

KC 1530 (14)
HARVARD COLLEGE LIBRARY
FROM
THE BEQUEST OF
EVERT JANSEN WENDELL
1918

LONDON:
Printed by W. CLOWES,
Stamford-street.

Digitized by Google

CONTENTS.

	PAGE
BOUNDARIES OF EUROPEAN TURKEY	1
ANCIENT AND MODERN DIVISIONS	2
POPULATION OF THE TURKISH EMPIRE	5
POLITICAL DIVISIONS	7
ORIGIN OF THE TURKS	10
HISTORY OF THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE	12
CAUSES OF THE GREATNESS AND DECLINE OF THE OTTOMAN POWER	83
DESCRIPTION OF CONSTANTINOPLE	95
POPULATION OF THE CAPITAL:	
THE ARMENIANS	157
THE FANARIOTES	172
THE OSMANLIES	203
THE JEWS	221
ENVIRONS OF CONSTANTINOPLE	227
THE BOSPHORUS	232
GALLIPOLI	249
THE HELLESPONT	252
FROM CONSTANTINOPLE TO ADRIANOPLE	259
ADRIANOPLE	262
FROM ADRIANOPLE TO RUDSHUK	267
HISTORY OF THE BULGARIANS	276
FROM BELGRADE TO ADRIANOPLE	284

Digitized by Google

PAGE

FROM CONSTANTINOPLE TO SALONIKA 286
SALONIKA 302
MOUNT ATHOS 321
FROM SALONICA TO LARISSA 337
THE VALE OF TEMPE 335
LARISSA 339
METEORA 342
IOANNINA 350
CONCLUSION 356

DIRECTIONS FOR PLACING THE PLATES.

View of Constantinople ..... *to face the Title.*
Plan of ditto ..... PAGE 96
Monastery of Meteora 342
Ioannina 350

Digitized by Google

THE

MODERN TRAVELLER,

&c. &c.

TURKEY.

[A country of Europe, forming part of the Ottoman Empire; lying between lat. 40° and 48° 50′ N., and long. 17° and 30° E.; bounded, on the N., by the Russian and Austrian territories; on the E. by the Black Sea, the Bosphorus, and the Sea of Marmora; on the S. by the Egean Sea and Greece; on the W. by the Ionian and Adriatic Seas and Austria.]

TURKEY is a barbarous term of equivocal import, which ought long ago to have been excluded from geography. Whether we understand it as denoting the country of the Turks or the dominions of the Grand Turk, (as the Sultan used to be denominated,) the appellation has little propriety. That portion of Europe which bears the Ottoman yoke cannot be considered as characteristically a Turkish country, since, in those provinces, the Turks do not form a third of the population; and they appear there, as it has been well remarked, less as a nation, than as an army encamped in the midst of vanquished nations. But, if the word Turkey be regarded as synonymous with the Turkish empire, it ought to include not only Armenia and the region of the Euphrates, but Syria and even Egypt; countries which form as much integral parts of the Ottoman dominions

Digitized by Google

as the Dacian and Grecian provinces. Nevertheless, the word, though an improper one, has been so long sanctioned by usage, that, not being provided with a substitute, we have adopted it in the title to the present volume; intending by it the whole of the European dominions of the Grand Signior, with the exception of the Morea and Ancient Greece south of Mount Œta.

According to this definition, Turkey will include a very irregular groupe of countries, lying between the Euxine and Egean seas and the Adriatic, extending westward as far as the river Unna, which divides Turkish from Austrian Croatia, in long. 17° E., and the continuation of the arbitrary line of the Austrian frontier; northward, to the Dniester and the Russian territory; and southward to Greece. These countries, which are supposed to contain in superficial extent about 186,000 square miles, are distinguished by modern geographers under the following denominations, to which we have annexed the ancient and Turkish names.

	Ancient Name.	*Turkish.*	*Sq. Miles.**
1. Moldavia.	Dacia.	Kara Iflak, or Bogdan †.	26,639
2. Wallachia.		Ak Iflak.	23,066

* According to Malte Brun; but he includes, under Moldavia, Bessarabia and the Russian part of the province; so that the present extent of Turkey is less than the total given on his authority. Pinkerton makes the total extent, including Greece and the Morea, only 182,560 square miles; its extreme length, from the northern boundary of Moldavia to Cape Matapan, 870 miles; and its utmost breadth, (which in general is less than half its length,) from the River Unna to the Bosphorus in lat. 43°., 680 miles. In the Supplement to the Ency. Britan., Turkey in Europe is stated, on the authority of Hassel, to comprise only 180,074 square miles, being 20,000 less than Malte Brun's estimate. In the Edinb. Gazetteer, it is given in round numbers at 200,000 square miles.

† Iflak or Ivlak is stated by Thornton to be a corrupt pronun-

Digitized by Google

	Ancient Name.	Turkish.	Sq. Miles.
3. Bulgaria.	Mœsia.	Beylerbeylik of Bosnia.	97,174
4. Servia.			
5. Bosnia.	Pannonia.		31,366
6. Croatia.			
7. Dalmatia.	Dalmatia.		
8. Romania Proper.	Thrace.	Beylerbeylik of Roum-Ili.	25,716
	Macedonia.		21,142
9. Albania.	Illyricum.		16,645
10. Livadia and Thessaly.			14,915
			186,663
If to this we add the Morea, Eubœa, Crete, and the Grecian Isles, estimated at.....			15,646
The total extent of European Turkey will be			202,309

ciation of Wallachia. Bogdan signifies, in the Slavonic, the gift of God, being synonymous with Theodosius; and the name of the province is derived, according to D'Herbelot, from that of the Christian princes of Mœsia. Colonel Leake asserts, that Kara Iviak is Wallachia, not Moldavia; and the latter province, he says, is written by the Greeks Μολδο Βλαχια, not Μαυρα Βλαχια, as stated by Mr. Hobhouse. It is remarkable, however, that both Maura Vlachia and Kara Ifiak signify Black Vlachia, as Ak Ifiak is White Vlachia. The Black and White Vlachi may have been originally distinguished by the colour of their tents or of their flocks, like the Tatars of the black and white sheep; but they are now known by their different costume. "The colour of their cap," says Dr. Neale, "distinguishes the Moldavians from the Wallachians, whose head-dresses are black, while those of the Moldavians are white." If this be correct, it certainly favours the statement of Colonel Leake, that Wallachia is Black Vlachia; and Thornton must have misapplied the names. Dr. A. Neale tells us, that Moldavia took its name from a *mollah*, or priest, named Xamolxis, the Pythagoras or Boudh of the primeval Scythian inhabitants; and that the word is corrupted from *Mollah-div-ia*, the territory of the immortal mollah. He gives no authority, however, for this etymology. See Neale's Travels, 4to. pp. 165, 170. Wilkinson states, that it takes its name from the river Moldau. The modern Wallachians, who call themselves *Rumunn* (Romans), give to their country the name of *Tsara Rumanesca*, Romanland.

Digitized by Google

The European territories form but a fourth part of the Ottoman Empire, even in its present contracted state; that is, if we take Egypt into the calculation, and exclude the Barbary States. The following estimate is that of M. Malte Brun.

	Square Miles.
Asia Minor, as far as the Euphrates	200,196
Syria, exclusive of the Desert	51,778
Armenia, with Turkish Georgia, &c.	64,002
Diarbekir, Mesopotamia, &c.	144,650
Total of Asiatic Turkey	460,626
Egypt	152,261
European Provinces	202,309
Total of the Ottoman Empire	815,196

In this estimate, however, Cyprus and the Asiatic Islands do not appear to be included, which would add about 11,000 square miles to the calculation.* At the zenith of its greatness, the Turkish dominion was still more widely extended. In Europe, it comprised Transylvania, Slavonia, the whole of Croatia, and the greater part of Hungary, with the whole course of the Danube from Belgrade to Gran; also New Servia and the Crimea; in Asia, the whole of Georgia and the Persian province of Shirvan; nominally at least, the Arabian Peninsula; and in Africa, the Barbary States, which still acknowledge the supremacy of the Sultan-khalif of Constantinople, as the head of Islam.

* In the Supp. to Ency. Britan. the total extent of the Turkish empire is thus given:—

European Turkey			180,074
Asiatic Turkey,	Continent	436,629	447,679
	Islands	11,050	
African dominions			276,480
			904,233

Digitized by Google

The population of a state in which registers and a regular census are unknown, it is impossible to ascertain with any approximation to accuracy. Supposing the houses to be as thinly scattered as in the less populous parts of Spain, M. Malte Brun says, the population of the whole Ottoman empire in Europe, Asia, and Africa may amount to between five-and-twenty and thirty millions. Hassel, in 1816, calculated it at twenty-four millions, and Baron Humboldt, in his Political Essay on New Spain, estimates the population of the Turkish empire at 25,330,000. Other writers bring it much lower.* Of this total, one half is assigned to Asiatic Turkey, which is thus distributed by the French Geographer.

Anatolia, &c.	5,000,000	
Armenia, &c.	2,000,000	
Kourdistan	1,000,000	
Pashaliks of Mosul, Bagdadt, and Diarbekir	1,500,000	
Syria (at most)	2,000,000	
	11,500,000	
Egypt contains, according to Humboldt,	2,490,000	
		13,990,000.

The population of European Turkey may be thus conjecturally stated.

* See Supp. to Ency. Brit. Art. Turkish Empire. Lichtenstein, in 1819, calculated it at 24,880,000; Graberg at 23,000,000. In the Ency. Britan. itself, it is stated at 21,000,000, two-thirds of which are allotted to Asiatic Turkey, and one-third to Turkey in Europe; no account being taken of Egypt. In the Edinb. Gazetteer, the population of European Turkey is placed below ten millions, and that of Asistic Turkey, in round numbers, at the same sum. In the General Gazetteer (1823), the total population is conjecturally stated at between thirteen and fifteen millions.

Digitized by Google

Moldavia and Wallachia	1,500,000 *	
Bulgaria and Bosnia	850,000 †	
Macedonia, Thessaly, Epirus, and Greece	2,350,000 ‡	
Remainder of Roumelia	6,000,000 §	
		10,700,000
Population of Asiatic Turkey, &c.		13,990,000
Total Population		24,690,000

In assigning between ten and eleven millions as the total population of European Turkey, inclusive of Greece, we offer merely a conjecture, founded on the average of conflicting statements, and taking into consideration the active causes of depopulation which have been operating with peculiar force during the past few years. Of this population, it has already been stated, that the Turkish natives do not form a third;

* Wallachia is stated to contain about a million of inhabitants, and Turkish Moldavia half that number. See WILKINSON'S *Wallachia*, p. 60. In the Edinb. Gazetteer, the Wallachians and Moldavians are set down at only 400,000. Thornton estimates them at a million.

† According to the above-cited article, in Sup. to Ency. Brit.

‡ See Mod. Trav., Greece, vol. i. p. 25.

§ "Some writers," says Malte Brun, "estimate the population of European Turkey at twenty-two millions, while others have reduced it to eight, and both assign equally plausible grounds for their opinions." Eton seems disposed to estimate the population of the continental provinces at little more than ten millions; founding his calculation upon the assumed fact, that they contained fifty millions two centuries ago. Thornton contents himself with asserting, that the progress of depopulation in these provinces is "infinitely over-rated in this calculation;" but he offers no corrected estimate. In Rees's Cyclopædia, the number of inhabitants in Turkey in Europe is stated to have been estimated at eight millions, or about forty-three to each square mile; but this estimate, it is added, is supposed to exceed the truth. In the Ency. Brit. it is estimated as low as seven millions; but, in the Supplement, it is carried to nearly nine: viz. Roumelia, 6,000,000; Bosnia, 850,000; Islands, 525,000; Wallachia and Moldavia, 1,500,000: total, 8,875,000 But nothing can be more uncertain than the basis of this calculation.

Digitized by Google

but they may be taken at between three and four millions. The remainder are supposed to consist of various Mohammedan, Christian, and Jewish inhabitants, in the following relative proportions:

Turks and Tatars	3,500,000
Greeks	2,000,000
Wallachians	1,000,000
Arnauts and Albanians	1,500,000
Bulgarians (Slavonians)	500,000
Chinganehs or Gipsies	250,000
Bosniacs, Servians, &c.	750,000
Armenians	200,000
Jews	300,000
Franks	uncertain.

The Turkish divisions of the empire are purely military, founded upon the feudal system, which still prevails. All lands in Turkey are held on the condition of military service for a limited term. These grand military departments or captaincies are subdivided into *sanjaks* or standards, each *sanjak* containing a number of lordships or manors, called *ziamets* and *timars*, (sabres). *

It devolves upon the *sanjak-bey*, in time of war, to summon the janizaries, *spahis*, *zaims*, and *timariots* of his jurisdiction, and to await the orders of the pasha.†

* In the reign of Soliman I. according to the *Canon-Nameh*, or Imperial Constitutions, the number of *ziamets*, or estates of five hundred acres and upwards, amounted to 3192; and the number of *timars*, or estates of from three to five hundred acres, to 50,160. The whole furnished a revenue of nearly four millions of rix-dollars.—THORNTON'S *Turkey*, vol. i. p. 290.

† Upon a declaration of war, all the inhabitants of a district, between sixteen and sixty, are summoned to join the standard of the pasha, and to rendesvous at a certain place; but the obligation to remain in the field is not permanent even upon the feudal troops. A soldier is punished by mulct or disgrace, who delays to join the army beyond the 23rd of April, O. S.; but having served to the 26th of October, the judge of the camp cannot refuse him his certificate, and he may return to his home without being subject to

Digitized by Google

The title of pasha, which is merely personal,* is sometimes given to the sanjak-beys; and the larger sanjiakats are called pashaliks: others, under the government of a mutselim, are styled mutselimliks. The military governors of provinces, who are subordinate only to the Grand Vizir, are styled beylerbeys, and the district under their command, beylerbeyliks. European Turkey is divided into two beylerbeyliks; that of Roum-ili or Romania, comprising their conquests from the Greek empire; and that of Bosnia, under which are comprehended Servia, Croatia, and their other acquisitions to the westward. The principalities of Moldavia and Wallachia are not included in this division, being considered as tributary provinces. Constantinople is also a separate jurisdiction, as well as the Islands, which are under that of the Capitan Pasha or High-admiral. The Pasha of Kutaya has the title of *Anadol Beylerbey*, or Captain-general of Anatolia, and as such, has the chief command of all the Anatolian troops, when they join the imperial standard. The pasha of Diarbekir is also a beylerbey. It is not easy to ascertain with any precision the number of these grand divisions, more especially as there are some independent agaliks and mutselimliks not included in the jurisdiction of the beylerbeys. There are also other divisions, used purely for the civil and financial purposes of the government.†

pain or penalty. This will account for the supposed desertions in large bodies which frequently take place at the approach of winter.—See THORNTON, vol. i. p. 225.

* Pasha, according to Thornton, is formed of two Persian words, *pa-sha*, signifying literally viceroy.

† Asiatic Turkey is divided into twenty-one governments: viz. 1. The beylerbeylik of Anadol (or Anadhouly). 2. The pashalik of Konieh, or Karamania. 3. The pashalik of Adana or Itchili (Cilicia). 4. The mutselimlik of Kibris (Cyprus). 5. The pasha-

Digitized by Google

The pashas consist, in fact, of three classes, who are distinguished by the number of horse-tails carried before them as standards; a custom supposed to have been derived from the Tatars, and indicating the barbaric origin of the Turks. The governors of large districts, who are entitled to three tails, assume the name of vizir. * All these governments are nominally held for the term of one year only; and at the ensuing *baïram*, the appointment must be renewed. There are some rare instances, however, in which they have been held and transmitted as hereditary fiefs. Mehemmed Bey was created by Selim I., beylerbey of Diarbekir, with the privilege of transmitting it to his male children. The lordship (*agalik*) of Magnesia in Anatolia was for a long time hereditary in the family of Kara-Osman-

lik of Siwas (Sebaste), or Roum. 6. The pashalik of Merashe. 7. The pashalik of Tarabosan (Trebisond). [See Mod. Trav., Syria, &c. vol. ii. p. 92.] 8. The pashalik of Akhirsea, or Tahalder Chaldea). 9. The pashalik of Kars (in Armenia). 10. The pashalik of Erzeroum. 11. The pashalik of Van. 12. The pashalik of Shersour (in Kourdistan). 13. The pashalik of Bagdadt. 14. The pashalik of Bussora. 15. The pashalik of Mosul. 16. The pashalik of Diarbekir. 17. The pashalik of Rakka (Nicephorium). 18. The pashalik of Haleb (Aleppo). 19. The pashalik of Tarabalous (Tripoli). 20. The pashalik of Akka (Acre). 21. The pashalik of Sham (Damascus).

* Ali, Vizir of Epirus, had thirteen horse-tails carried before him in all grand processions, representing the various dignities which he held. "The insignia of a vizir, governor of a province, are, the *alem*, a large broad standard, the staff of which, instead of a spear-head, is surmounted with a silver plate in the form of a crescent; the *tabl* or military music, consisting of nine drums, nine fifes, seven trumpets, and four cymbals; the *tugh*, consisting of three horse-tails artificially plaited; one *sanjak*, or standard of green silk, and of the same form and size with Mahommed's standard; and two large standards called *bairak*. Other pashas, who are not honoured with the title of vizir, have two horse-tails with the other insignia. A bey has but one horse-tail, together with the standard. Agas, and others of an inferior order, are allowed only one *sanjak* and no horse-tails."—THORNTON'S *Turkey*, vol. i. p. 268.

Digitized by Google

Ogloo; and that of the Ghavrinos possessed several *agaliks* in Macedonia, by virtue of similar concessions. The great pashaliks of the remoter Asiatic provinces may be considered as tributary principalities, as regards their virtual independence,* but it is rarely that they have been allowed to descend to an hereditary successor. The name by which the Sultan is known to his subjects is that of *Padishah* (emperor), of which Grand Signior seems to be a sort of translation: he has, however, various other titles, among which that of Vicar of the Prophet is the most valuable, and that of Imperial Man-slayer the most characteristic of a ruthless despotism.†

It will not be expected that we shall attempt to give a history of the Turks, whose origin is involved in much obscurity. They are supposed to have been a branch of the great Sarmatian family, known to the Greek writers under the denomination of the Scythians

* Of this description, more especially, are the pashaliks of Bagdadt, Trebisond, and some others.

† "By the constitution of Mohammedan government, not only the executive, but the legislative power essentially resides in the sovereign. His spiritual and temporal authority are indicated, in the language of the jurists, by the titles of *imam* and *sultan*. In virtue of his sacerdotal authority, he assumes the titles of *padishah-islam* (emperor of islamism), *imam-ul-musliminn* (pontiff of musulmans), and *sultan-dinn* (protector of the faith). At court, when mention is made of the sultan, the appellation of *alem-penah* (refuge of the world) is usually added to his title of *padishah*. His loftiest title, and the most esteemed because given to him by the kings of Persia, is *zil-ullah* (shadow of God); and one of the most remote from our manners, though common among all ranks of his subjects, is *hunkiar* (the manslayer). This is given to him, because the law has invested him alone with absolute power over the lives of his subjects. The Turkish casuists allow that he may kill *fourteen* persons every day, without asigning a cause, or without imputation of tyranny. Death by his hand, or by his order, if submitted to without resistance, confers martyrdom."—THORN-

Digitized by Google

beyond the Imaus.* Their original country appears to have been the Altaian mountains, whence they spread as far as the Lake Mæotis and the banks of the Oxus. It was towards the middle of the sixth century of the Christian era, according to Gibbon, that Europe felt the shock of that revolution which first revealed to the world the name and nation of the Turks. But the fact is, that their name, like that of the Huns, from whom the Bulgarians are supposed to derive their origin, is too vague and general to determine the identity of the people to whom it is applied. The word Turk is said to signify wanderer: by the Ottomans, it is regarded as a contumelious appellation, nearly equivalent to boor. It appears to be used by Al Edrisi, the Nubian Geographer, as the generic designation of the various hordes inhabiting Eastern and Western Tartary; and as he makes no mention of either Tatars or Moguls, it has been inferred, that the latter ought to be considered as two branches of the Turkish nation, instead of our classing the Turks as Tatars.† With regard to the Modern Turks, their exterior gives no countenance to the Mongol extraction which their national authors ascribe to them; but their language, according to the unanimous opinion of philologists, bears a closer affinity, in its radicals, to the Ta-

TON, vol. i. pp. 111—3. The Greeks with strict propriety, then, designate their late master by the name of Sultan Kassapi (Butcher).

* Pliny mentions the Turks, ranking them among the Sarmatian tribes (Nat. Hist. lib. vi. c. 7.); and Pomponius Mela speaks of the *Thyssagetæ Turcæque*, as inhabiting the region near Mæotis, —"*vastas sylvas occupant aluntur*que *venando*."

† It is remarkable, that, in the hostile correspondence between Tamerlane and Bajaset, the Mogul Emperor distinguishes himself and his countrymen by the name of *Turk*, and stigmatizes the race and nation of the Ottomans, as *Turkmans*.

Digitized by Google

taric dialects, than to those of any other class.* It has received, however, so large an admixture of Arabic and Persian, as to be denominated on that account *Mulemma*, the pied mare. Nor are the people themselves of a race less mixed than their language. For ages, they have blended themselves with the nations they have conquered; and the large admixture of Persian, Circassian, Greek, and perhaps Gothic and Slavonic blood may explain their differing so widely from other Tatar nations. They are, in general, a tall, robust, and well-formed race, of a rather harsh, yet often noble physiognomy, a tawny complexion, dark brown hair, and their natural gravity of mien is aided by long mustaches, which are reckoned an indispensable ornament.

HISTORY OF THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE.

WHATEVER be the origin of the Turks as a nation, the foundation of the Ottoman empire dates no farther back than the conquest of Prusa, the capital of Bithynia, by Othman,† the son of Ertogrul, or Orthogrul, a Turcoman chieftain in the service of Aladin, Sultan of Iconium, who had established himself at Shughut on the banks of the Sangarius. ‡ "Othman possessed," says Gibbon, "and perhaps surpassed, the ordinary virtues of a soldier; and the circumstances of

* The language of the Mongols, as well as the Calmuck, is stated to have a sufficient connexion with the "*Caspian*" dialects, to be arranged as belonging to the Turco-Tatarian family. That of the Bucharians is little known, but that of the Nogay and Crimean Tatars is said to be much like the Turkish, but mixed with some Mongol. See *Quart. Rev.* No. xix. art. Adelung's Mithridates.

† Also written Thaman and Athman, and from Othman softened into Osman; whence Osmanlee, the national appellation of the Turks, which we translate into Ottoman.

‡ See Mod. Trav., Syria, &c. vol. ii. p. 327.

Digitized by Google

time and place were propitious to his independence and success. The Seljukian dynasty was no more; and the distance and decline of the Mogul khans soon enfranchised him from the control of a superior. He was situate on the verge of the Greek empire: the Koran sanctified his *gasi*, or holy war against the infidels, and their political errors unlocked the passes of Mount Olympus, and invited him to descend into the plains of Bithynia. It was on the 27th of July in the year 1299 of the Christian era, that Othman first invaded the territory of Nicomedia; and the singular accuracy of the date seems to disclose some foresight of the rapid and destructive growth of the monster.

"The annals of the twenty-seven years of his reign would exhibit a repetition of the same inroads; and his hereditary troops were multiplied in each campaign by the accession of captives and volunteers. Instead of retreating to the hills, he maintained the most useful and defensible posts; fortified the towns and castles which he had first pillaged; and renounced the pastoral life for the baths and palaces of his infant capital. But it was not till Othman was oppressed by age and infirmities, that he received the welcome news of the conquest of Prusa, which had been surrendered by famine or treachery to the arms of his son Orchan. The glory of Othman is chiefly founded on that of his descendants; but the Turks have transcribed or composed a royal testament of his last counsels of justice and moderation.* From the conquest of Prusa, we may date the true era of the Ottoman

* Osman enjoined his son to exercise a just friendship towards the Rumæan kingdoms, a charge which has been variously understood as relating either to the Seljukian emirs or the Christian powers. The moderation and pacific nature of this counsel depend wholly on the way in which it is interpreted.

Digitized by Google

empire. The lives and possessions of the Christian subjects were redeemed by a tribute or ransom of 30,000 crowns of gold; and the city, by the labours of Orchan, assumed the aspect of a Mohammedan capital. Prusa was decorated with a mosch, a college, and a hospital of royal foundation;* the Seljukian coin was changed for the name and impression of the new dynasty; and the most skilful professors of human and divine knowledge attracted the Persian and Arabian students from the ancient schools of Oriental learning. The office of vizir was instituted for Aladin, the brother of Orchan."

Nice was taken by Orchan in 1330,† and Nicomedia fell nine years after. The Moslem conqueror "granted a safe-conduct to all who were desirous of departing with their families and effects; but the widows of the slain were given in marriage to the conquerors; and the sacrilegious plunder, the books, the vases, and the images, were sold or ransomed at Constantinople. The Emperor Andronicus the younger was vanquished and wounded by the son of Othman: he subdued the whole province or kingdom of Bithynia as far as the shores of the Bosphorus and the Hellespont; and the Christians confessed the justice and clemency of a reign which claimed the voluntary attachment of the Turks of Asia. Yet, Orchan was content with the modest title of emir; and in the list of his compeers, the princes of Roum or Anatolia, his military forces were surpassed by the emirs of Ghermian and Cara-

* See, for a description of Broussa (Prusa), MOD. TRAV., *Syria*, &c. vol. ii. p. 318.

† Nice had previously been taken by the Sultan of Roum; but was recovered by the Crusaders in 1097. It is now, under the name of Isnik, a wretched village. Isnikmid, the representative of Nicomedia, is governed by a pasha of two tails.—See MOD. TRAV., *Syria*, &c. vol. ii. pp. 329—333.

Digitized by Google

mania, each of whom could bring into the field an army of 40,000 men."* On the death of Amir, the Turkish prince of Aidin (Mysia), who had been the friend and ally of Cantacuzene, the Bithynian emir was applied to, to join his arms with those of the Greek emperor against the Latins. Orchan readily entered into this advantageous alliance, as the reward of which he obtained in marriage the daughter of Cantacuzene. "The Greek clergy," says the Historian, "connived at the marriage of a Christian princess with a sectary of Mohammed. Without the rites of the church, Theodora was delivered to her barbarous lord; but it had been stipulated, that she should preserve her religion in the harem of Boursa; and her father celebrates her charity and devotion in this ambiguous situation. But the friendship of Orchan was subservient to his religion and interest; and in the Genoese war, he joined without a blush the enemies of Cantacuzene."

In this account of the Bithynian Emir, we seem to have a counterpart to the artful and varying policy by which, in our own days, the Vizir of Ioannina

* "The sovereignty of the emir of Caramania, which derives its name from the mountain Amanus, extended over Cilicia and part of the frontiers of Lycaonia, Pamphylia, Caria, and the greater Phrygia. Ionia Maritima, as far as the city of Smyrna, obeyed the family of Sarukhan. The chief part of Lydia, with some part of Mysia, Troas, and Phrygia, formed the principality of Caras or Kara. Aidin consisted of the greater part of Mysia, together with some part of Lydia. The principality of Mentes derived its name from a city in Caria, called Mendos or Myndus. The city of Boli was the seat of government of the sons of Omur (Amur), whose sway extended over Paphlagonia and Pontus, comprising the cities of Heraclea, Castamona, Sinope, and several others on the Euxine Sea. These were the chief divisions of the Seljukian territory."—THORNTON'S *Turkey*, vol. i. p. 2. But in this enumeration, Germian or Kerman is omitted.

Digitized by Google

succeeded in rendering himself the master of Epirus and the greater part of Greece.* Alternately the ally of the Latins and the Greeks, Orchan steadily pursued his own aggrandisement. In the civil wars of Romania, the Turkish cavalry, under the command of Soliman, his eldest son, performed some service for the Emperor, but perpetrated more mischief. The Chersonesus was insensibly filled with a Turkish colony, and Gallipoli, the key of the Hellespont, which had been partially destroyed by an earthquake, was rebuilt and peopled by the policy of Soliman. That prince having been killed by a fall from his horse, the aged Orchan was succeeded in his dominions by his son Murad, or Amurath I., who subdued, without resistance, the whole of Thrace from the Hellespont to Mount Hæmus, and made Adrianople the seat of a beylerbeylik, or vice-royalty, about 1365. The Emperor, John Palæologus, appears to have purchased his friendship or forbearance by the most abject submission; and Constantinople remained the capital of a shadowy empire. It was, perhaps, as his ally that Amurath extended his inroads as far as the Slavonian provinces between the Danube and the Adriatic, chastising those warlike tribes who had so often insulted the majesty of the eastern empire. The military bands called *Yengi cheri*, new soldiers, (corrupted into Janizaries,) were composed originally of European captives taken in these wars: they formed the first regular body of infantry ever maintained in constant exercise and pay by any European sovereign, and

* Like Orchan, Ali had for his favourite wife, a Christian; his capital, the principal seat of modern Greek literature, might once have vied with that of Bithynia; and his tolerant policy corresponded not less remarkably to that of Orchan, than his duplicity and perfidy.

Digitized by Google

soon became the chief strength and pride of the Ottoman armies.

Amurath is said to have been of mild temper and unostentatious deportment, a lover of learning and virtue. He perished by the hand of a foreign assassin, after gaining the victory of Cossova over the confederated Slavonian tribes; and was succeeded, in 1389, by the renowned Bajazet, or Bayazid, surnamed Ilderim, the Thunderbolt, whose reign forms one of the most splendid epochs in the Turkish annals. Pursuing the plans and policy of his father, he led his triumphant armies from Boursa to Adrianople, and from the Danube to the Euphrates. The Seljukian emirs of Asia Minor had taken advantage of the distant expeditions of Amurath, to unite their arms for the purpose of recovering their independence. Among these, the most powerful were the princes of Caramania, who, by their influence over the minor chieftains, and by their coalitions with the Greek emperors and the Christian princes beyond the Hæmus and the Danube, stirred up war alternately on that frontier from which the Ottoman army was farthest removed. These revolts and disturbances, by embarrassing the progress of the conqueror, protracted the final overthrow of the Greek empire. A victory obtained by Amurath over the Caramanians and their allies in the plain of Iconium, destroyed for the time this formidable confederacy; but Bajazet, not content with their equivocal submission, resolved to annex by force their territories to his empire. Openly renouncing the peaceable maxims of his predecessors, he stripped of their hereditary possessions his brother emirs of Ghermian (or Kermian) and Karaman, of Aidin and Sarukhan. The northern regions of Anatolia, from Angora to Amasia and Erzeroum, had already been

Digitized by Google

reduced to obedience; and after the conquest of Iconium, the ancient kingdom of the Seljukians might be considered as revived in the Ottoman dynasty. Nor were the conquests of Bajazet in Europe less rapid or important. "No sooner had he imposed a regular form of servitude on the Servians and Bulgarians, than he passed the Danube to seek new enemies and new subjects in the heart of Moldavia. Whatever yet adhered to the Greek empire in Thrace, Macedonia, and Thessaly, acknowledged a Turkish master. An obsequious bishop led him through the gates of Thermopylæ into Greece; and we may observe," adds Gibbon, whose words we are citing, "that the widow of a Spanish chief, who possessed the ancient seat of the oracle of Delphi, deserved his favour by the sacrifice of a beauteous daughter. The Turkish communication between Europe and Asia had been dangerous and doubtful, till he stationed at Gallipoli a fleet of galleys to command the Hellespont, and intercept the Latin succours of Constantinople. While the monarch indulged his passions in a boundless range of injustice and cruelty, he imposed on his soldiers the most rigid laws of modesty and abstinence; and the harvest was peaceably reaped and sold within the precincts of his camp."

"The humble title of emir," continues the Historian, "was no longer suitable to the Ottoman greatness; and Bajazet condescended to accept a patent of sultan from the khalifs who served in Egypt under the yoke of the Mamalukes. The ambition of the Sultan was inflamed by the obligation of deserving this august title; and he turned his arms against the kingdom of Hungary, the perpetual theatre of the Turkish victories and defeats. Sigismond, the Hungarian king, was the son and brother of the emperors

Digitized by Google

of the West; his cause was that of Europe and the Church; and on the report of his danger, the bravest knights of France and Germany were eager to march under his standard and that of the Cross. In the battle of Nicopolis, Bajazet defeated a confederate army of a hundred thousand Christians, who had proudly boasted that, if the sky should fall, they could uphold it on their lances. The far greater part were slain or driven into the Danube; and Sigismond, escaping to Constantinople by the river and the Black Sea, returned, after a long circuit, to his exhausted kingdom. .....The battle of Nicopolis would not have been lost, if the French would have obeyed the prudence of the Hungarians; but it might have been gloriously won had the Hungarians imitated the valour of the French. They dispersed the first line, consisting of the troops of Asia; forced a rampart of stakes which had been planted against the cavalry; broke, after a bloody conflict, the Janizaries themselves; and were at length overwhelmed by the numerous squadrons that issued from the woods, and charged on all sides this handful of intrepid warriors.* In the speed and secresy of his march, in the order and evolutions of the battle, his enemies felt and admired the military talents of Bajazet. They accuse his cruelty in the use of victory. After reserving the Count of Nevers and four-and-twenty lords whose birth and riches were attested by his Latin interpreters, the remainder of the French captives, who had survived the slaughter of the day,

* The French army did not exceed in number a thousand knights and squires, among whom were the young Count of Nevers, son of the Duke of Burgundy and Flanders, and four princes his cousins, under the command of the famous Enguerrand VII., Sire de Courcy, one of the best and oldest captains in Christendom.

Digitized by Google

were led before his throne; and, as they refused to abjure their faith, were successively beheaded in his presence. The Sultan was exasperated by the loss of his bravest Janizaries; and if it be true, that, on the eve of the engagement, the French had massacred their Turkish prisoners, they might impute to themselves the consequences of a just retaliation.....After much delay, the effect of distance rather than of art, Bajazet agreed to accept a ransom of 200,000 ducats for the Count of Nevers and the surviving princes and barons. The Marshal Boucicault (who afterwards defended Constantinople, governed Genoa, invaded the coast of Asia, and died in the field of Azincour) was of the number of the fortunate; but the admiral of France had been slain in the battle; and the constable, with the Sire de Courcy, died in the prison of Boursa. ....Before their departure, they were indulged in the freedom and hospitality of the court of Boursa; and the French princes admired the magnificence of the Ottoman, whose hunting and hawking equipage was composed of 7000 huntsmen and 7000 falconers."

But Bajazet had now reached the term of his greatness. His conquests in Armenia and on the banks of the Euphrates had brought him in immediate contact with a Moslem conqueror of ambition equally restless and insatiable, united to superior genius and exhaustless resources. This was the famous Timour-beg (or bey), whose nick-name of *Lenc*, or *Leng*, the lame, joined to his proper appellation, has been corrupted into Tamerlane.* The Mogul conqueror was in his sixty-fourth year, when intelligence reached him on the banks of the Ganges, that the Sultan Bajazet, the Kaissar (Cæsar) of Roum, after subju-

* Demir, or Timour, is said to signify, in Turkish, Iron.

Digitized by Google

gating the whole of Asia Minor, was meditating the conquest of Syria and Egypt. An occasion of quarrel was not long wanting. "Each of these ambitious monarchs might accuse his rival of violating his territory, of threatening his vassals, and protecting his rebels; and, by the name of rebels, each understood the fugitive princes whose kingdoms he had usurped, and whose life and liberty he implacably pursued. The resemblance of character was still more dangerous than the opposition of interest; and, in their victorious career, Timour was impatient of an equal, and Bajazet was ignorant of a superior." A hostile correspondence of complaints and menaces was carried on for two years before the final explosion. Satisfied, in his first expedition, with the siege and destruction of Sebaste, Timour postponed his invasion of Anatolia, to attempt the reduction of Syria and Egypt. Aleppo and Damascus were sacked and reduced to ashes by this ruthless sectary of Ali, who is stated to have erected a pyramid of 90,000 heads on the ruins of Bagdadt; but the armies of Egypt barred his further progress in that direction. On his return, he collected all his force for the long-meditated expedition against his rival. At length, resolved to strike the blow in the heart of the Ottoman kingdom, he moved his army from the Araxes through Armenia and Pontus, and dexterously avoiding the camp of Bajazet, which had been established near Sebaste, traversed the salt desert and the river Halys, and invested Angora. The plains around that city were the scene of the memorable battle which led to the captivity of Bajazet, and placed his kingdom at the mercy and disposal of the Mogul conqueror. In that day, the greater part of the Ottoman troops, formed of Anatolian levies, loyal in their desertion, revolted from Bajazet

Digitized by Google

at the decisive moment, and revenged their ancient emirs. Timour planted his standard at Kutaya. Bourssa, Nice, and Smyrna fell successively into his hands; and the humbled and captive Ilderim escaped being led in triumph to Samarcand, by a death which is variously attributed to the severities he suffered, or to apoplexy.* The sons of Bajaset and the Seljukian emirs were re-instated in their hereditary dominions, and the Ottoman empire in Asia, under its ancient name of Roum, was numbered among the twenty-seven kingdoms which acknowledged the sovereignty of the mighty Tamerlane. Soliman, however, the eldest son of Bajaset, having escaped from the field of battle into Europe, was enabled to preserve the Ottoman name from the ignominy of total submission, while he soothed the pride of the conqueror by tributary gifts, and accepted the investiture of the kingdom of Romania, which he already held by the sword. The Greek Emperor, too, though he withheld the transports which Timour demanded under pretence of attacking his enemy,† submitted to pay the

* The Persian historians represent, that Timour treated his captive with the utmost respect and kindness, and that he expired of apoplexy at Akshehr (Antioch of Pisidia), about nine months after his defeat. His harsh and ignominious confinement in an *iron cage* is considered by Gibbon as credibly attested by a chain of witnesses.

† "From the Irtish and Volga to the Persian Gulf, and from the Ganges to Damascus and the Archipelago, Asia was in the hand of Timour. The Christian kingdoms of the West already trembled at his name. He touched the utmost verge of the land; but an insuperable, though narrow sea rolled between the two continents of Europe and Asia; and the lord of so many myriads of horse was not master of a single galley. The two passages of the Bosphorus and Hellespont, of Constantinople and Gallipoli, were possessed, the one by the Christians, the other by the Turks. On this great occasion, they forgot the difference of religion, to act with union and firmness in the common cause."—GIBBON.

Digitized by Google

same tribute that he had stipulated with the Turkish Sultan, and ratified the treaty by an oath of allegiance. On the throne of Samarcand, the King of the World gave audience to the ambassadors of Egypt, Arabia, India, Tatary, Russia, Spain, and France;* and in his seventieth year, he was invading the empire of China, and had proceeded three hundred miles from his capital, when a fever arrested him in his career, and terminated his triumphs and his crimes.†

The death of Tamerlane, the division of his empire among his sons, their discord, and the ambition of his great captains, relieved the Turkish provinces from the Mogul yoke. Eleven years, however, elapsed in the mutual endeavours of the sons of Bajaset to supplant each other, before Mohammed, who had been entrusted with the government of Amasia, effected his final triumph, and assumed the title of sultan. Soliman, after a reign of nearly eight years at Adrianople, having made himself odious by his vices, and especially by his scandalous habit of inebriation, was

* Henry III. of Castile sent two embassies to the court of Samarcand, of which a curious relation is to be found in Mariana; and there appears to have been at least some correspondence between Charles VII. of France and Tamerlane.

† "A fragment of the empire was upheld with some glory by Sharokh his youngest son; but after *his* decease, the scene was again involved in darkness and blood; and before the end of a century, Transoxiana and Persia were trampled by the Usbeks from the North, and the Turkmans of the black and white sheep. The race of Timour would have been extinct, if a hero, his descendant in the fifth degree, had not fled before the Usbek arms to the conquest of Hindostan. His successors (the great Moguls) extended their sway from the mountains of Cashmir to Cape Comorin, and from Candahar to the Gulf of Bengal. Since the reign of Aurungzebe, their empire has been dissolved; their treasures of Delhi have been rifled by a Persian robber; and the richest of their kingdoms is now possessed by a company of Christian merchants, of a remote island in the Northern Ocean."—GIBBON.

Digitized by Google

assassinated by order of his brother Mousa. The fratricide, as well as his brother Isa, who for some time reigned over a district in the neighbourhood of Angora, fell a victim to the jealous policy of the sovereign of Amasia, who stood forward as the heir and avenger of the unfortunate Soliman. At his death in 1421, Mahommed I. bequeathed an undivided empire to his successor. Murad (or Amurath) II., at the commencement of his reign, was reduced to the greatest difficulties by the victorious progress of a competitor, supported by the Wallachian princes and the Greek Emperor, who assumed the name and character of Mustafa, the eldest son of Bajazet. At Adrianople, he was recognised as the heir of the Ottoman empire; but "his flight, his fetters, and an ignominious gibbet, delivered the impostor to popular contempt."* The galleys of the Genoese transported the Ottoman Sultan from Asia to Europe, and Italian mercenaries assisted him in the conquest of Adrianople, by which Romania and Anatolia were again united under one sceptre. Servia, Macedonia, Thessaly, Albania, and the whole of Greece to the north of the Isthmus, were reduced to subjection during this reign; and the battle of Varna, in which Ladislaus, King of Hungary, lost his life, and 10,000 Christians were slain, defeated the last combined effort of the Christians to check the fatal progress of the Turkish power.†

* Whether this Perkin Warbeck of the Turkish history was the true Mustafa, or an impostor, is considered by Gibbon as, after all, doubtful. The death of the real prince was never ascertained. A similar character and claim were asserted by several rival pretenders; and no fewer than thirty persons are said to have suffered under the name of Mustafa.

† The most striking feature in the life and character of Amurath II. is his double abdication of the Ottoman throne. Voltaire panegyrises *le philosophe Turc*, who at the age of forty could discern the

Digitized by Google

The "just," the "magnanimous" Amurath was succeeded in 1451 by the Conqueror of Constantinople, the accomplished and execrable Mohammed II. For the details of this memorable siege, we must refer to the pages of Gibbon. On the 6th of April, 1453, the imperial standard of the besiegers was planted before the gate of St. Romanus; and after a siege of fifty-three days, "that Constantinople which had defied the power of Chosroes, the Chagan, and the khalifs, was irretrievably subdued by the arms of Mohammed the Second. Her empire only had been subverted by the Latins: her religion was trampled in the dust by the Moslem conquerors."

"From the first hour of the memorable 29th of May, disorder and rapine prevailed in Constantinople,

vanity of human greatness. "Would he," asks Gibbon, "have bestowed the same praise on a Christian prince for retiring to a monastery?" "Resigning the sceptre to his son, he retired to the pleasant residence of Magnesia; but he retired to the society of saints and hermits. The lord of nations submitted to fast, and pray, and turn round in endless rotation with the fanatics who mistook the giddiness of the head for the illumination of the spirit. But he was soon awakened from this dream of enthusiasm by the Hungarian invasion; and his obedient son was the foremost to urge the public danger and the wishes of the people. Under the banner of their veteran leader, the Janizaries fought and conquered; but he withdrew from the field of Varna, again to pray, to fast, and to turn round with his Magnesian brethren. These pious occupations were again interrupted by the danger of the state.....Age or disease, misfortune or caprice, have tempted several princes to descend from the throne; and they have had leisure to repent of their irretrievable step. But Amurath alone, in the full liberty of choice, after the trial of empire and solitude, has repeated his preference of a private life." The annals of the Spanish monarchy present the nearest parallel. Ramiro, the brother of the warlike Alfonso I., was summoned from a monastery to succeed him on the throne; but when his daughter was two years of age, he abdicated the crown, and again buried himself in a monastery.

Digitized by Google

till the eighth hour of the same day, when the Sultan himself passed in triumph through the gate of St. Romanus. He was attended by his vizirs, bashaws, and guards, each of whom (says a Byzantine historian) was robust as Hercules, dexterous as Apollo, and equal in battle to any ten of the race of ordinary mortals. The conqueror gazed with satisfaction and wonder on the strange though splendid appearance of the domes and palaces, so dissimilar from the style of Oriental architecture. In the hippodrome, or *atmeidan*, his eye was attracted by the twisted column of the three serpents; and, as a trial of his strength, he shattered with his iron mace or battle-axe the under-jaw of one of these monsters, which, in the eyes of the Turks, were the idols or talismans of the city. At the principal door of St. Sophia, he alighted from his horse, and entered the dome; and such was his jealous regard for that monument of his glory, that, on observing a zealous Mussulman in the act of breaking the marble pavement, he admonished him with his scymetar, that, if the spoil and captives were granted to the soldiers, the public and private buildings had been reserved for the prince. By his command, the metropolis of the Eastern Church was transformed into a mosch: the rich and portable instruments of superstition had been removed, the crosses were thrown down, and the walls, which were covered with images and mosaics, were washed and purified, and restored to a state of naked simplicity. On the same day, or on the ensuing Friday, the *muezin*, or crier, ascended the most lofty turret, and proclaimed the *ezan*, or public invitation, in the name of God and his prophet; the iman preached; and Mahomet the Second performed the *namaz* of prayer and thanksgiving on the great altar, where the Christian mysteries had so

Digitized by Google

lately been celebrated before the last of the Cæsars. From St. Sophia, he proceeded to the august but desolate mansion of a hundred successors of the great Constantine, but which in a few hours had been stripped of the pomp of royalty. A melancholy reflection on the vicissitudes of human greatness forced itself on his mind, and he repeated an elegant distich of Persian poetry: 'The spider has wove his web in the imperial palace; and the owl hath sung her watch-song on the towers of Afrasiab.' Yet, his mind was not satisfied, nor did the victory seem complete, till he was informed of the fate of Constantine, whether he had escaped, or been made prisoner, or had fallen in battle. Two Janizaries claimed the honour and reward of his death. The body, under a heap of slain, was discovered by the golden eagles embroidered on his shoes. The Greeks acknowledged with tears the head of their late emperor; and, after exposing the bloody trophy, Mahomet bestowed on his rival the honours of a decent funeral."

The final subversion of the Byzantine empire was immediately followed by the subjugation of the principalities of the Morea, and the resignation of the sovereignty of Trebisond by David Comnenes into the hands of the same haughty conqueror. Mohammed II. united under his sceptre all the provinces in Europe which had formerly belonged to the eastern division of the Roman Empire,* and the whole of Asia on this side of Mount Taurus. He expelled the Genoese colony from Kaffa, in the Crimea, and the Tatar Khan submitted to receive from the Ottoman Sultan

* In his reign, the famous Scanderbeg, the Prince of Albania, who for twenty-three years resisted the power and defied the vengeance of the Ottoman empire, was finally compelled to seek refuge in the Venetian territory, where he died a fugitive.

Digitized by Google

the investiture of his dominions in that peninsula. Not satisfied with these conquests, his generals had commenced the invasion of Italy by the siege and sack of Otranto, and Pope Sixtus was preparing to flee beyond the Alps, when, in 1481, the danger was dispelled by the death of the Sultan in the fifty-first year of his age.

Bajazet II. succeeded his father; but his pretensions to the throne were disputed by his brother, who held the government of Magnesia, at the head of a powerful army. Bajazet, however, was supported by the Janizaries, who now began to exert that political influence which has subsequently proved so dangerous to the throne. His competitor was defeated by the grand-vizir Ahmed; and after vainly seeking to engage the Sultan of Egypt in his cause, was ultimately compelled to seek refuge in the states of Christendom, where Bajazet found means to have him assassinated.* This monarch wrested from the Vene-

* In Mr. Thornton's sketch of the Turkish history, the unfortunate son of Bajazet is stated to have been named Djem, and to have founded his title to the succession on the circumstance of his having been born the son of a sultan; whereas the birth of Bajazet had preceded the elevation of his father to the imperial dignity. After his defeat and flight, Djem is represented as having "resided at Rome in safe but honourable custody, until the French King Charles VIII., having seized upon the kingdom of Naples, and extended his schemes of conquest to Greece and European Turkey, claimed possession of his person, and removed him to Naples, where he was soon after murdered by an emissary of the Sultan. Such," it is added, "is the relation of the Turkish historians." The writer in the Ency. Britan., who appears to have followed Mignot, states, that Bajazet was the second son of Mohammed II., and that he was preferred by the Janizaries to his *elder* brother, Zizan, who fled for protection to Pope Alexander VI., by whom he is said to have been poisoned, at the instigation of Bajazet, and for the reward of 300,000 ducats." Such are the uncertainties and discrepancies even in modern history!

Digitized by Google

tians some important maritime towns on the coasts of Albania and the Morea; he restrained the piracies of the Moldavians on the Black Sea, by the capture of the strong fortresses of Kilia on the Danube and Akkierman on the Dniester; and he annexed to the Ottoman empire, the Cilician pashaliks of Tarsus and Adana. After a reign of one-and-thirty years, having intimated his wish to abdicate in favour of his son Ahmed, he was compelled by the Janizaries to descend from the throne; but they conferred the sovereignty on his youngest son, Selim, who had already given proof of his turbulent ambition, by taking up arms against his father and sovereign.

Selim I., surnamed *Yavus*, the Cruel, commenced his reign by the murder of all his brothers. His first military expedition was against Shah Ismail, the founder of the Sefi dynasty, who, having conquered the Usbeg tribes, had made himself Lord of Persia, Media, Mesopotamia, and the Greater Armenia. Selim forced a passage over the lofty range of Taurus, encountered the perils of the desert, and having obtained a decisive victory over the Persians in the plain of Chalderan, marched against Tauris, which immediately opened its gates to the conqueror. Disease, however, had begun to thin the ranks of his troops; and he led back his army to Amasia, loaded with booty, but much diminished in numbers. The Kourds and other mountaineers harassed their retreat; and Selim gratified at once his resentment and his policy by subjugating Armenia, Mesopotamia, and Kourdistan, from the Lake of Van to the confines of Syria. The state of things in Europe having assumed a threatening aspect, he then rapidly marched from Mount Taurus to the Danube, and by his appearance frustrated the intended confederate invasion of the

Digitized by Google

Ottoman territories. He next led a numerous army to Aleppo, with a view to execute the long-cherished object of the Ottoman ambition, that of annexing Syria and Egypt to their empire. The governors both of Aleppo and Damascus readily transferred their allegiance from the Lord of Cairo to the Sovereign of Constantinople; and the power of the Mamlouks was dissolved by the decisive battle of Meritz Dabik, in which the Egyptian Sultan was slain, with the flower of his army. The submission of Syria and Palestine and the conquest of Egypt immediately followed this victory. The Fatimite Shereef of Mekka acknowledged Selim as his sovereign; and the conqueror led back with him to his capital the last khalif of the house of Abbas, by whose resignation he obtained for the princes of the Ottoman dynasty, the envied title which confers ecclesiastical supremacy and the powers of sovereign pontiff, exalting the possessor above all the rival monarchs of Islam.* This was the most important acquisition of his reign. The government of the Egyptian provinces was confided by Selim to a divan, or council of regency, and twenty-four Mamlouk beys; but Syria and Palestine were divided into pashaliks, and became incorporated with the Ottoman empire. The Sultan was projecting new conquests when he died, in the ninth year of his reign; agreeably, it is said, to the prediction of a holy man of Damascus, who foretold at the same time his victory

* See Mod. Trav., Arabia, p. 98. Thornton states, that "Mecca sent her keys to the conqueror;" but Mecca is an open city without walls: the keys of *the temple* were transmitted to Selim; and at Constantinople, Mahommed XII., the last of the Abassides, formally renounced the khalifate. The ecclesiastical supremacy of the Chinese emperor in like manner dates from the removal of the visible head of the Buddhic faith from the banks of the Ganges to China.—See Mod. Trav., Birmah, p. 106.

Digitized by Google

and the lengthened reign of his son. It is possible, that the effect of the prediction on the superstitious mind of Selim might contribute to its fulfilment.

The reign of Soliman I., who ascended the throne of his father under these favourable auspices, is regarded as the most brilliant in the Ottoman annals. The first event of consequence which distinguished it, was the siege and capture of Belgrade, which had successfully repelled the attacks of Mahommed the Great and his father, Amurath II. This important place, the bulwark of Hungary, and then regarded as the chief barrier of Christendom against the Turks, at the end of a month's siege, was surrendered by treachery. The conquest of Rhodes, after a furious and protracted siege, was the next splendid achievement of the Ottomans, in alliance with the Christian lords of the Adriatic. Rhodes, in the hands of the Knights of St. John, who had held it for two hundred and twenty years, was acknowledged to be the main defence of Italy against the fleets and armies of the Turks; yet it received no assistance from the Christian princes in its last struggle. The civil and religious dissensions which distracted Christendom, precluded, indeed, any effectual co-operation on the part of any other state than that republic which was in league with the enemy. The Ottoman had now assumed the novel attitude of a maritime power; and when Soliman, at the head of 200,000 men, advanced into Hungary, he was supported by a strong fleet of observation in the Mediterranean, while a large convoy of transports were appointed to ascend the Danube with supplies for his army. In the field of Mohatz (A.D. 1526), in which the Hungarian monarch was induced to attack an army eight times more

Digitized by Google

numerous than his own, Lewis was killed, with 20,000 Hungarians; and the capital, the chief fortresses, and the open country, surrendered to the conqueror. At the approach of winter, however, according to the usual practice of the Ottoman armies, Soliman led back his army, loaded with booty and encumbered with captives, leaving the impoverished and depopulated country to be contended for by the rival pretenders to the vacant throne.

John de Zapoli, Count of Zips and Vaivode of Transylvania, having convoked an assembly of the States at Tokay, obtained for himself the election to the throne of Hungary. But a diet, assembled at Presburg, under the auspices of a more powerful party, reversed this election in favour of a foreign candidate, Ferdinand, Archduke of Austria, and brother of the Emperor Charles V. The Hungarian Count, unable to contend with the armies of his rival, fled to his brother-in-law, Sigismond, in Poland, whence he despatched an emissary to Soliman, the invader and enemy of his country, offering to hold the kingdom as a fief of the Ottoman empire. With the pretended object of supporting his claims, Soliman again entered Hungary in 1529, and marched to Buda without meeting resistance. The German garrison capitulated, but a pretence was found for putting them to the sword; the principal fortresses along the Danube were captured with equal facility, and Vienna was invested by the Asiatic barbarians. But the loss of his heavy artillery, which had been intercepted and sunk in the Danube by the garrison of Presburg, and the approach of the rainy season, together with the scientific and vigorous resistance of the governor and garrison, finally compelled him to raise the siege and draw off

Digitized by Google

his army. To assuage his disappointment or to expedite his retreat, the Sultan issued a general order for the massacre of all his prisoners.

Three years after, Soliman again invaded Hungary at the head of an immense army; but this expedition proved an inglorious one. Causes which are not clearly ascertained occasioned him to retire, after wasting the open country of Styria and Carinthia, and spending eight and twenty days in the fruitless siege of the insignificant and badly-fortified town of Guntz. Many thousands of the country-people were, however, led into captivity. The civil contest between the rival claimants of the throne of Hungary, each of whom appealed to the Turkish Emperor as his lord paramount for protection and support, invited Soliman, in 1541, once more to march into that unhappy country.* He entered Buda in triumph, and converting its churches into mosques, treacherously annexed the disputed kingdom, as a beylerbeylik, to the Ottoman empire. The people were consoled by the enjoyment of repose, and the nobles were reconciled to the loss of national independence by the preservation of their religion, their privileges, and their possessions. The Archduke was ultimately glad to secure his hereditary dominions by a truce of five years, on the humiliating condition of a yearly tribute of 30,000 ducats.

The conquest of the kingdom of Hungary, although the most important feature in the annals of this brilliant reign, did not exclusively occupy the attention of the ambitious Soliman. He conducted an army in

* John de Zapoli was now dead, but had left an infant son, who was acknowledged by the greater part of the Hungarian nobility; and his widow, who was appointed co-regent with the Bishop of Waradin, possessed ambition and spirit to support the rights of the infant monarch.

Digitized by Google

person into Persia, and prosecuted the war through several destructive and disastrous campaigns. Bagdadt surrendered to the Ottoman Sultan in 1534, but not till after two campaigns, which are stated to have cost the Turks 200,000 men, on account of the peculiar hardships of Persian warfare, the insalubrity of the climate, and the scarcity of water, provisions, and forage. Van was besieged and taken in 1548, and Erivan, then the capital of the Persian monarchy, was sacked and destroyed in 1553. By his victories and his perseverance, Soliman eventually succeeded in obtaining a considerable augmentation of territory beyond the Araxes and the Tigris, and in forcing the Georgian princes to surrender their strongest castles, and to acknowledge the sovereignty of the Porte. He owed the submission of Moldavia to the mere terror of his name, and the homage of Algiers to the renown of his power. His admiral, the celebrated Barbarossa, supported, in several well-contested naval combats, the reputation of the Ottoman fleet. He retook Castelnuovo, in Dalmatia, notwithstanding the desperate defence of the garrison, consisting of 4000 Spaniards; he reduced Napoli di Romania and Malvasia, in the Morea; and, by the conquest of these important places and of several islands in the Archipelago, so terrified the Venetians, who had been induced to join the maritime confederacy against the Porte, that they purchased a separate peace by the cession of Syra, Patmos, Paros, Ægina, Naxos, and several other islands. The Ottoman navy was now brought to equal, in number and in strength, those of the Spaniards and Italians; and Barbarossa was esteemed, in courage and in experience, the rival of the celebrated Doria, their greatest admiral. In fact, Soliman the Magnificent held a distinguished rank

Digitized by Google

among the contemporary princes of the sixteenth century;* and during his reign, the political and military administration of the empire attained the greatest perfection of which they were susceptible. Learning and the arts were encouraged by his munificence, and his enlightened policy invited a commerce with the remotest nations of the west. In the estimation of his people, the splendour of his military achievements was surpassed by the wisdom of his legislation, which has obtained for him the surname of *Canuni*, or the Instituter of Rules. He caused a compilation to be made of all the maxims and regulations of his predecessors, and in his *Canon Nameh*, strictly defined the duties, powers, and privileges of all governors, commanders, and public functionaries. Having divided his dominions into districts, he appointed the number of soldiers which each should furnish; regulated, with a minute accuracy, everything relative to their discipline, equipment, and service; prescribed the mode of collecting as well as of applying the revenue, and introduced order and economy into the financial administration. But the latter years of his reign were beclouded by a domestic tragedy of deepest horror. A Russian captive, named Roxalana, who had obtained so unbounded an influence over the doting monarch as to induce him to make her his empress, succeeded in instilling into the mind of Soliman a jealous fear and hatred of his son, Mustafa. By her artifice, Soliman was led to suppose that his own safety

* Soliman began his reign a few months only after Charles V. was placed on the imperial throne of Germany; and this brilliant epoch in the Ottoman annals belongs to that interesting portion of the History of Europe which has been illustrated by Dr. Robertson and his authorities, to which the reader may be referred for further details respecting the affairs of Hungary and the Algerine war.

Digitized by Google

could be secured by no other method than the fatal order which is said to have been executed in his own presence. The only son of Mustafa fell a victim to the same horrid policy, and no rival was left to dispute the throne with the son of Roxalana. Soliman was preparing an expedition to complete the conquest of Hungary, and Szigeth had already fallen, when he died on the 4th of September, 1566, after a reign of forty-seven years, and was succeeded by his son, Selim II.*

On the accession of the new Sultan, the Emperor Maximilian sent an ambassador with overtures of peace; and an armistice for eight years was concluded, on the condition that both parties should retain the territories of which they were in actual possession. The protection afforded by the Venetians to the pirates of Istria, and the admission of the galleys of the Maltese into the harbours of Cyprus, were, however, made the pretence of dissolving the league which Soliman had made with the Republic. Cyprus soon yielded to the Ottomans, who, in all the Greek islands possessed by the Franks, were welcomed by the oppressed natives and a host of insurgents as deliverers from a worse than Turkish yoke; and they gratified the religious animosities of the Greeks by an indiscriminate massacre of the Latin nobility and clergy.

* See Robertson's Charles V., book xi. Mr. Eton tells us, that Chihangar, another son of Soliman, killed himself in despair, and that a third son, Bajaset, was strangled, with five of his children. The same writer makes Amurath II. die of grief at his ill success against Scanderbeg, and Mahomet II. die of poison, after having put to death 800,000 Christians of both sexes; Bajaset II. he poisons also; Selim I., he tells us, died of a cancer in his reins; and Soliman II. of a disease not less dreadful. As he gives no authorities, it is difficult to ascertain to what extent the Turkish history is indebted to his embellishment.

Digitized by Google

After the reduction of Cyprus, the Ottoman fleet scoured the Gulf of Venice, blocked up the ports, and threw the city itself into the utmost consternation. The naval battle of Lepanto, which took place some time afterwards, was very fatal to the Ottomans. The allies captured, burned, or sunk two hundred of their vessels; and all Christendom rejoiced on the occasion of the first signal defeat which had been sustained by the common enemy.* Yet, in the interval of a single winter, the Ottomans built and equipped a new fleet, which effaced the recollection of this disgrace by new triumphs. Tunis was recovered from the Spaniards; and an insurrection of the Moldavians was quelled by the vigour which still characterised the councils and proceedings of the Ottoman power. After a reign of eight years, Selim was frightened to death by a fire which broke out in the offices of the Seraglio.

The reign and character of his son and successor, Murad III., are not distinguished by any features of remarkable interest; and from this period, the Ottoman power began to decline. Being at peace with Christendom, the Sultan was left at liberty to direct his whole attention to the affairs of the East. The war with Persia was protracted through twelve campaigns; and though it was not rendered memorable by any great event or decisive battle, it was fatal to the Ottomans, on account of the mortality occasioned by famine, disease, the temerity of their generals, and the peculiar nature of the warfare. The Persians, adhering to their plan of defensive war, deferred their chief attacks till the winter, when the main party of the Ottoman army was disbanded; the dispersed gar-

* Purchas states, that "our gracious sovereign King James has written a poem of this battle." It must have been a juvenile essay.

Digitized by Google

risons them became an easy prey, and they re-occupied the country which had been lost during the summer campaign. Both parties were at length exhausted by the long duration of these destructive hostilities, and the Sultan was glad to accede to the proposals of the Shah, who resigned to his dominion, the cities of Erivan, Tauris, and Ganja, together with the conquered territory in Armenia, Georgia, and Shirvan.

Although the Ottoman and Austrian monarchies were ostensibly at peace, the military commanders on the Hungarian and Croatian frontier encouraged or permitted incursions into the neighbouring territories for the purpose of plunder. In these savage inroads, castles were surprised, and villages were destroyed; the cultivated country was spoiled of its cattle and produce, and the peasantry were driven into slavery. It was for the avowed purpose of punishing the injuries which his subjects had received from the Uscocks, (a band of adventurers who had obtained a settlement in Styria,) that the Pasha of Bosnia was directed, without any previous declaration of war, to invade Croatia with an army of 50,000 men. The Austrians at first obtained some advantages, and were besieging Gran, when they were completely routed by the Grand Visir, who, in his turn, made himself master of Raab, one of the strongest fortresses of Lower Hungary. The Sultan was preparing to take the field in person, when his life was terminated by a fever.* The Hungarian

* Murad III. appears to have been a feeble-minded monarch, avaricious, and the slave of a gloomy superstition. It is said that he was so intimidated by the frequent seditions of the Janizaries, that, for two years, he durst not go out of the seraglio. The Turkish writers pass over his character in silence. On his accession, he caused five of his brethren to be strangled; and his nineteen sons, with ten of his wives, were put to death by his eldest son and successor, Mahommed III., who is said to have caused his own son

Digitized by Google

war was prosecuted throughout the reign of his successor, Mahommed III., which extended from 1595 to 1603; but almost every subsequent campaign tended to weaken the opinion which had been entertained, that the Ottoman armies were invincible. Both the belligerent parties were at length disposed, by the exhausted state of their finances and intestine troubles, to treat for peace. The Sultan died while the negotiation was pending, but it was eventually concluded with his successor, Ahmed I., whose inglorious reign of fourteen years is a blank in the Ottoman annals.

In 1617, Mustafa I., the brother of Ahmed, was declared the rightful successor to the throne; but, after a reign of four months, he was deposed by the army, having rendered himself at once contemptible and odious by his incapacity and cruelty. Osman, the son of Ahmed I., was then proclaimed sultan, though he had scarcely attained the age of twelve. He held his precarious sovereignty during four years, when he excited a general insurrection of the Janizaries by measures which betrayed an intention to abolish or to reduce the power of their order. They compelled him to resign the throne to his deposed uncle, and conducted him to the prison of the Seven Towers, where he was soon afterwards strangled by the ministers of Mustafa. When tidings of these atrocious proceedings reached the Asiatic provinces, a strong feeling of indignation was excited, and, disclaiming all allegiance to Mustafa, they took up arms to avenge the murder of Osman. The divan and the members of the *ulema* secretly favoured this loyal revolt, and at length, the Janizaries were induced to abandon the cause of Mus-

also to be strangled on suspicion of treasonable designs. From this time, it became the almost invariable practice, when a sultan mounted the throne, to put to death his brothers and nephews.

Digitized by Google

tafa, who was led to the same chamber in which his nephew was murdered, and there executed.

Murad IV., surnamed *Gasi*, the Conqueror, restored in some measure the glory of the Ottoman name. He was but fourteen years old on his accession to the throne, at the death of his uncle, in 1623, and he found the empire in complete disorder. The public treasury was empty; the ordinary resources of the state were exhausted; the Janizaries continued mutinous and insolent; and the provinces were in a state of declared rebellion. The Tatars of the Crimea had refused to submit to the khan nominated by the Porte, and had expelled the Turkish garrison from Kaffa; while the Cossacks had fitted out an armament of 150 boats on the Dnieper, and entering the Bosphorus, where not a single galley was left to oppose them, continued, during several days, to insult the capital, and to plunder the adjacent villages almost with impunity. The Persians also had taken advantage of the distracted state of the empire, to recover the province and city of Bagdad, and to ravage the frontier provinces from Arabia to the Euxine. Had the Christian powers of Europe been prepared to unite their force at this crisis, they might, apparently, with ease have recovered from the Ottomans a considerable portion of their conquests. During the first ten years of his reign, the young Sultan gave little indication of his possessing those qualities which the difficult circumstances in which he was placed, and the exigencies of the state, called for. He is said even to have excited discontent by his dissolute habits. But on attaining his twenty-fifth year, he took the government into his own hands, and began to display the energy and ferocious severity of his character. He suppressed an insurrection occasioned by some new

Digitized by Google

taxes, and beheaded fifty of the ringleaders; hanged a kadi, to the great displeasure of the *ulema*; and subsequently caused the mufti and his son to be strangled. Being dissatisfied with the dilatory proceedings of his generals in the East, he put himself at the head of his army, and succeeded in terminating the Persian war after four campaigns, by forcing the Shah to cede the cities and territories which Abbas the Great had wrested from the Ottoman empire. He returned in triumph to his capital in June 1639, but expired suddenly, the victim, it is said, of a debauch, in the February of the following year, in the thirty-first year of his age and the seventeenth of his reign. The character of this Sultan has been variously represented.* That he displayed an energy and courage which strikingly contrasted with the feebleness of his immediate predecessors, is unquestionable; but he had none of the attributes of true greatness: he was at once cruel and licentious. "At the beginning of his reign," says Thornton, "his indignation had been excited against the standing army; but, when he had subdued the haughtiness of the Janisaries by rigour and discipline, he encouraged

* Thornton, the apologist for the Turks, as Eton is the panegyrist of the Russians, styles Murad "this great Sultan." Rycaut says, "he was so bad that he had scarcely any allay of virtue." Voltaire asserts, that, "in the opinion of the Turks, he had no other merit than his valour." "Cantemir," says Thornton, "has collected from accounts which he acknowledges to be in part fabulous, some ridiculous and improbable anecdotes." Some specimens of these are given by Eton as authentic facts. Among other atrocities, he is said to have amused himself by shooting his subjects with arrows or a carbine as he sat in his kiosk; to have executed his cook for not seasoning a dish to his palate; and to have hanged a Venetian merchant for having on the top of his house a high gallery which, it was thoughht might overlook the gardens of the Seraglio.

Digitized by Google

their obedience by his favour, and stimulated their enterprise by his example. He assisted at their public exercises, and contended with them in feats of strength or address. He marched at the head of their corps, dressed in the uniform of their order, made his saddle his pillow, endured suffering with patience, and encountered danger with intrepidity. He sanctioned the severity of his government by subjecting even himself to its salutary discipline; and notwithstanding the occasional excesses of his intemperance, and the habitual ferocity of his character, his army served him with zeal, and his subjects regarded him with veneration."

Ibrahim, the brother and successor of Murad IV., was deformed in body and imbecile in mind; he resigned himself to the indulgence of his appetites, leaving the administration of government wholly in the hands of his vizir, and at length became so odious, that he was deposed and subsequently strangled.* During this reign, however, the divan displayed at once the restless ambition and the perfidy which characterise the Ottoman government. Under pretence of invading Malta, and clearing the Mediterranean from pirates, they fitted out a formidable armament, which excited jealous apprehensions on the part of the Venetians, notwithstanding that they were at peace with the Porte. The divan endeavoured to allay their suspicions by assurances of unshaken amity; their ambassador was honoured with every mark of distinction; and the Turkish fleet even put into the island of Tino for water and refreshments. The Ve-

* The circumstances of the brutal outrage which led to his excommunication by the mufti, and subsequent deposition, as related by Rycaut, are rejected by Thornton as certainly fabulous; but he admits, that both Turkish and Christian writers agree as to the licentious and abandoned character of this prince.

Digitized by Google

netians did not wholly neglect to provide the means of defence, but, conscious of their comparative weakness, they avoided giving umbrage by any open indication of their suspicions, till, in 1645, the Ottoman fleet, entering the harbours of Candia, disembarked an army of 74,000 men, who immediately invested and captured the cities of Canea and Retimo. The whole island, with the exception of the capital, was reduced in less than two years. Thus began, by an act of perfidious injustice, a long and sanguinary contest, which lasted until the end of the century.

Mohammed IV. was but seven years old at the deposition of his father. His minority was one continued scene of intestine discord and revolt. Transylvania and Hungary were again, during this reign, made the theatre of hostilities between the Porte and Austria. In 1663, the Grand Vizir, Kioprili Mehemed, invading Hungary, besieged and took Neuhausel, Neutra, Novigrad, Leventz, and Freystadt; while a detachment of his army entered Moravia and Austria, and intimidated the Emperor into a removal from Vienna. The success of the Turks was counterbalanced, in the ensuing campaign, by the re-capture of Neutra and Leventz, and by the defeat and slaughter of their bravest troops at the passage of St. Gothard on the Raab. The result was a truce for twenty years, by which the possession of Great Varadin and Neuhausel was confirmed to the Porte. On the termination of the Hungarian war, the Vizir resolved to undertake in person the reduction of the city of Candia, the garrison of which had continued to defy the successive attempts of the Ottomans to gain possession of that place. On the 10th of May, 1667, the siege began, which was sustained with heroic firmness by the Venetians for two years and four months. The

Digitized by Google

Turks are said to have lost, in two assaults, no fewer than 30,000 men.* At length, the garrison were reduced to the necessity of capitulating, after exhausting all the military resources of the age in defence of the place; and peace was concluded with the Republic.

The Ottoman arms were next employed in supporting the Cossacks of the Ukraine in their revolt against their Polish sovereign. The result of this war was advantageous to the Porte, who obtained by force possession of Kaminiec, and by treaty the sovereignty over Podolia and the Ukraine. This was, however, the last campaign from which any important advantage accrued to the Ottoman empire; and on the first exercise of its authority, the Cossacks threw themselves upon the protection of Russia, by whose co-operation they defeated the armies and abolished the authority of the Sultan.

In 1683, war again broke out between the Porte and Austria; and the Ottoman army, under Kara Mustafa, penetrated to Vienna. The siege of that capital was commenced on the 14th of July, and prosecuted till the 12th of September, when the allied army under Sobieski resolved to attack the besiegers, and the victory was most complete. The Turks fought in disorder, and, after a short resistance, abandoned their camp, together with their artillery, baggage, and magazines: continuing their retreat by moonlight, they did not halt till they had crossed the Raab, at the distance of fifty-five miles from Vienna. This flight and their subsequent defeats unveiled their weakness to Europe. The Czar and the Republic of Venice were emboldened to join the confederacy against the Porte, and to assist the operations of the war in

* Eton states that, in this celebrated siege, 40,000 Christians and 100,000 Turks were computed to have been destroyed.

Digitized by Google

Hungary, by invading the maritime provinces of Greece, and by diverting the forces of the Tatars. And now it appeared how far behind, the Ottomans had been thrown by the rapid improvement which the Christian states had made in the art of war. Their troops were routed and cut to pieces in every battle; their strongest fortresses were surrendered; Buda was taken by storm; and in the fourth year of the war, they had been expelled from Hungary, Transylvania, and Slavonia, while the Venetians, besides possessing themselves of several places in Dalmatia and Albania, had conquered the whole of the Morea. Through the whole of this war, the vanquished Turks "expiated," says Thornton, "under the sword of the Christians, the cruelties of which their ancestors have been accused." After sustaining a signal defeat on the plains of Mohatz, the army revolted against their commanders, and the Sultan, by endeavouring to screen his vizir from the public resentment, excited an insurrection which cost him his throne. His brother, Soliman II., who succeeded him in 1687, was eminent for the austerity of his life and the fervour of his devotion; and it was fondly imagined that his prayers would avert the evils which threatened the empire with destruction. But the Germans, pursuing their victorious career, took Belgrade by assault, and penetrated into Bosnia, Servia, and Bulgaria. Soliman was so far humbled as to send ambassadors to Vienna to sue for peace, but his proposals were haughtily rejected. In the mean time, however, the King of France, by invading the palatinate, made a diversion in his favour; and the recovery of Nissa, Widdin, and Belgrade, by the Grand Vizir, restored a transient lustre to the Ottoman arms.

Soliman II. was succeeded, in 1690, by the youngest

Digitized by Google

son of Sultan Ibrahim, under the name of Ahmed II. The events of his short reign corresponded to the feebleness of his government. His nephew, Mustafa II.,* was not less deficient in those talents and acquirements which were now become essential to the success of military operations. He endeavoured to reanimate his subjects with a martial spirit by taking the field in person; but, after witnessing from the opposite bank of the Theis, the defeat and slaughter of his army at Zenta, by the Imperialists under the command of Prince Eugene, he confirmed the humiliation of the Ottoman power, by relinquishing to the Emperor, at the congress of Carlovitz, in 1698, Transylvania and almost the whole of Hungary and Slavonia. The Morea remained in the possession of the Venetians, Podolia and the fortress of Kaminiec in that of the Poles, and Azof in that of the Russians. A new insurrection was the result of the exasperated feelings produced by a sense of national disgrace in the turbulent soldiery, and their now unpopular sovereign was forced, in 1703, to yield the throne to Ahmed III.

The peace of Carlovitz was first violated by the Czar Peter Alexiovitch, who infringed its implied conditions by building forts along the Don and the Dnieper, and fitting out a fleet of galleys on the Sea of Azof. The Porte observed with anxiety his continual encroachments both in Poland and on their own frontier, but stifled its resentment, till the remonstrances of the Tatar Khan rendered hostilities inevitable. At this period, too, the illustrious madman of Sweden, Charles XII., having taken refuge, after the battle of Pultowa, in the dominions of the Sultan,

* Eldest son of Mohammed IV.

Digitized by Google

exerted some influence on the councils of the divan. The imprudence of the Czar, who suffered himself to be cooped up and surrounded in an angle of Moldavia formed by the river Pruth, where he was reduced to extremities by the want of forage and provisions, enabled the Sultan to make peace on his own terms. He allowed the Czar to purchase provisions for his army, and to retreat unmolested, on his engaging to evacuate Poland, to surrender Azof, to destroy his fleet, and to demolish his forts on the frontier of the Tatar territory. This took place in 1711. Three years after, the Morea was recovered from the Venetians in a single campaign; and though the Emperor professedly took up arms in the cause of his allies, the peace of Passarowitz in 1718, which was negotiated through the mediation of England and Holland, secured to the Porte the possession of its Grecian provinces, in exchange for the bannat of Temeswar, and the territory and fortress of Belgrade, which were re-annexed to the kingdom of Hungary.*

The history of Turkey now becomes again involved with that of Persia, which country had been made the scene of desolation by the insurrection of the Afghan Tatars. In the desperate state of his affairs, Tamasp, the fugitive heir to the throne of the Sefi,† adopted the dangerous expedient of imploring military

* The treaty of Carlovitz in 1698 was brought about by the mediation of the same powers; and from this time, England began to exert a considerable influence in the affairs of the Levant. The British Levant Company was first instituted by royal charter in 1605; its privileges were defined and extended in 1643; the charter was renewed at the Restoration, and again in 1758. Wortley Montagu was appointed ambassador to the Porte in 1716.

† Improperly written Sophy. Mahmoud, the Afghan, usurped the regal power in 1722, and was succeeded by his son Ashroof, in 1725.

Digitized by Google

succour from the Russians and the Turks. The French ambassador is stated to have had address enough to prevail upon the cabinets of Constantinople and St. Petersburgh to concur in a treaty for the partition of Persia, by which the house of Sefi was to have been re-established in its sovereignty over a portion of the divided empire. But, as the Afghans were Sunnites or orthodox Moslems, like the Ottomans, the soldiery were averse to the war; and Ahmed consented to make peace with Ashroof, the son of the usurper Mahmoud, on the condition that he would acknowledge the *imameth* or ecclesiastical supremacy of the Sultan. Persia was rescued from both the Afghans and the Ottomans by a Turkman shepherd, named Nadir, whose brilliant exploits procured for him the title of Kouli Khan, and who, in 1727, restored the Sefi dynasty in the person of Shah Tamasp. On the refusal of the Porte to cede the conquered provinces, Nadir began the war anew, by expelling the Ottoman forces from Tauris and the province of Azerbijan. A revolt at home was the consequence, as in former instances, of this fresh disgrace of the army; and Ahmed was deposed in 1730, while collecting an army to oppose the progress of the Persians. His nephew, Sultan Mahmoud, made peace with Shah Tamasp; but the Persian general disavowed the treaty, which abandoned Armenia and Georgia to the Porte. Having deposed his master, he prosecuted the war with so much vigour, that, of all the conquests made by the former sultans, he left their degenerate successor only the city and territory of Bagdadt.*

A peace with Persia had become the more necessary in consequence of the menacing attitude of Russia.

* Kouli Khan usurped the throne in 1736, and assumed the name of Nadir Shah.

Digitized by Google

The declaration of war by the Czarina was followed by the siege and capture of Azof, and the invasion of the Crimea by a powerful Russian army. The Porte in vain endeavoured to avert the war by soliciting the mediation of the cabinet of Vienna. After affecting to yield to its solicitations, the Emperor joined his troops to those of the Czarina. Owing, however, to the feebleness and corruption which now pervaded the councils and administration of the imperial government, this perfidious policy terminated only in disgrace. The Ottomans, notwithstanding a defeat which they suffered at the commencement of the second campaign, took Orsova, and drove the Imperialists before them beyond Belgrade, which they invested and besieged in form. The surrender of this fortress to the Ottomans formed one of the conditions proposed by the Austrians as the basis of a treaty of peace, which restored to the Porte the whole of Servia, as well as that part of Wallachia which borders on the bannat of Temeswar. The Czarina also was compelled to concur in the treaty of Belgrade, and consented to restore Oczakof, to abandon Azof, and to relinquish the navigation of the Black Sea. This treaty was concluded in the year 1739.

The reign of Sultan Mahmoud extends over nearly the quarter of a century; and, what must now be regarded as an extraordinary circumstance in the Turkish annals, it appears to have been terminated, in 1754, by his natural decease. His brother, Osman III., was then elevated from his state prison to the throne; but he survived his elevation only three years, and was succeeded, in 1757, by Mustafa III.

The encroachments of the Empress Catherine in Poland were the occasion of the war between Russia and the Porte, which broke out in 1769, and lasted

Digitized by Google

till 1774, when the successes of the Russians compelled the Sultan Abdulhamid, who had succeeded to his brother, to conclude a dishonourable peace by signing the treaty of Kainargik. By this treaty, the principalities of Wallachia and Moldavia were restored to the Ottomans, while the Crimea was declared independent; but its nominal independence was subsequently annulled by a mere manifesto of the Empress, who annexed it to her own dominions. The plan for the conquest and seizure of the whole of the Ottoman dominions in Europe, is believed to have been arranged in the personal interviews of the Emperor Joseph and Catherine II., during their journey to the Crimea; and the Porte only anticipated their hostile intentions by a precipitate declaration of war in August 1787.* During four campaigns, it was able to support the unequal contest with both empires; but the efforts of the Ottomans seemed nearly exhausted, when the Emperor was compelled, by the intervention of England, Holland, and Prussia, to enter into an armistice, and eventually to conclude a separate treaty of peace on the basis of the *status quo ante bellum*.† The Empress persevered in hostilities, but at length, to secure the final partition of Poland, she concluded with the Porte a definitive treaty of peace at Yassy, by which she added to her dominions only the steppe between the Bogh and the Dniester.

In the meantime, Selim III. had, in 1789, acceded to the throne as the eldest surviving male heir,‡ to

* See Mod. Trav., Greece, vol. I. p. 71, *et seq.*

† The treaty of Reichenbach was concluded in Aug. 1790.

‡ Mr. Thornton states, that the hereditary succession is not in a right line, from father to son, but devolves of right to the eldest surviving male of the imperial family; "a law intended to guard against the inconveniences of a minor's reign;" but the right of seniority has not *always* been respected. The empire "never falls to the spindle."

Digitized by Google

the exclusion of his cousins, the sons of Abdulhamid. The leading events of his reign have already been detailed in the history of the Greek Revolution. Alternately at war with Great Britain and France, as either interest prevailed at Constantinople, the Porte acquired little or no advantage from the contest to which it was reluctantly made a party.

It appears to have been the wish of the Ottoman Government, to keep aloof from the storm produced by the French Revolution; and the invasion of Egypt by the French first compelled a departure from the system of neutrality which it was anxious to maintain. The capital trembled at the Syrian victories of Bonaparte; and at the moment of indecision, when it was yet a question in the divan, whether war should be declared against France, the discontents of the people were expressed by repeated conflagrations, and Selim tottered on his throne. The passage of a Russian squadron from the Black Sea through the Straits, and the anchorage of a Christian fleet under the walls of the Seraglio, excited not less horror and consternation than the loss of Egypt; and the Sultan was endangered alike by his allies and his enemies. The exploits of Nelson and Abercromby recovered the Ottomans from the despondency produced by the defeats of Gaza, Jaffa, and Akka, of Aboukir and Heliopolis; but the triumphant return of their Christian allies from Corfu, and the second display of the Russian standard under the walls of the capital, renewed their jealousies and discords, which burst forth in fresh assassinations and disturbances. The popularity of the Sultan was still further diminished by the public punishment of the delinquents. *

* It is certain, Mr. Hobhouse states, that when the two Greeks supposed to have been concerned in shooting the Russian

Digitized by Google

The death of the Emperor Paul and the subsequent general peace, quieted the apprehensions which had been entertained of foreign enemies; but the recommencement of hostilities renewed the distresses of the empire. The intrigues which had disturbed the civilised courts of the continent were now transferred to the palace of the Reis Effendi. Russia and England united their strength against France in the divan; and "the Sultan," says Mr. Hobhouse, "was the sad spectator of a contest of which he was himself the unwilling umpire, the ostensible object, and the proposed prey. The victory of either party alike menaced him with ruin: he had to choose between the armies of France and the fleets of England. Never was sovereign so situated between two negotiators, one armed with the power of the land, the other with that of the sea; both, to all appearance, able to destroy, but neither capable of protecting him against his antagonist. The precipitate flight of the British ambassador had scarcely relieved him from the embarrassment of making a selection between the menacing parties, when his capital was alarmed, for the first time, by the presence of a hostile force, * and the last of calamities seemed reserved for the reign of Selim. The good fortune which interposed to save the seat of empire, was not extended to the sovereign; and the evils which were inevitable from the triumph of either party, gathered fast around him from the day that saw

officers at Galata, were hanged, their bodies were taken from the gallows, and followed to the grave by a large body of Musulmans, and even some *chiauses* attached to the arsenal; "an unheard of honour, when paid to the corpse of an infidel, a dog, a giaour."

* For the particulars of the expedition to the Dardanelles, the reader may be referred to a very clear and satisfactory account in Mr. Hobhouse's Letters on Albania, vol. ii. pp. 1111. *et seq.*

Digitized by Google

the city of the Faithful delivered from the insults of a Christian flag."

The war which broke out in 1811, between Russia and the Porte, was short but most disastrous. In December of that year, after losing several battles, the main body of the Ottoman army surrendered as prisoners of war, and the Russians continued to advance, almost without opposition, along the western shores of the Black Sea. But, in 1812, the invasion of Russia by the French saved the Ottoman empire from the danger which threatened to overwhelm it, and peace was obtained by the sacrifice of Bessarabia and part of Moldavia. Since that period, the Greek insurrection has employed the chief attention, while it has disclosed the weakness of the Government, and its security has been chiefly owing to the policy and mutual rivalry of the Christian powers.

Before these events occurred, two successive Sultans had ceased to reign. The year 1807 had witnessed another of those sanguinary insurrections which have repeatedly been excited by national disaster. The remote cause of this formidable revolt, was an attempt on the part of Sultan Selim, acting under French influence, to introduce such reforms into the military and naval establishments, as should place them more on a par with the improved system of European tactics. For an account of the circumstances which attended, as well as those which led to this revolution, we shall avail ourselves of the interesting narrative furnished by Mr. Hobhouse, in the fifty-first letter of his "Journey through Albania," &c.

Sultan Selim had evinced, at an early period of his reign, a determination to attempt some changes in the organization of the military force, and in the internal administration of the government. The great council

Digitized by Google

of state was more frequently assembled than in former reigns, and thereby diminished the labours as well as importance of the Grand Vizir. Yussuf Aga, the intendant of the Valide, and Hussein, the Capitan Pasha, possessed the confidence and wielded the power of the Sultan; but the chief originator of the plans of reform was Mahmoud Rayf Effendi, who, after having passed through various subordinate offices, and visited the courts of Vienna, Paris, and London, was raised to the post of Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, and, as *reis-effendi*, was entrusted with the execution of those projects of which he had been the most strenuous adviser. The Sultan is stated to have received himself the suggestions of the French and other Frank residents, and his ministers availed themselves of their skill and personal advice.

"The new regulations of the Ottoman empire bear the date of 1796. The levy of twelve thousand men, who were to be disciplined according to the principles of European tactics, and armed in every respect like the soldier of France or England, although inserted at the end of Mahmoud's treatise, was the chief arrangement. The new troops were to wear a uniform, and they were to be taught the manual exercise, of which the regulations contain a minute detail, and a representation in one large plate. In order to detach them as much as possible from the Janissaries, it was resolved they should belong nominally to the corps of Bostandges, whose red bonnet they were to wear when at home, although they were to change it for a lighter cap of the same make and shape upon actual service.

"For these Bostandge fusileers (*Bostany Tufenktchissy*), as they were called, were erected handsome barracks in the middle of a down three miles to the

Digitized by Google

north-east of Pera, capable of containing fifteen thousand soldiers. Levend Tchiftlik was supplied with an exercising-ground, shaded on every side with avenues of limes, a marble kiosk for the reception of the Sultan, a mosck with baths, fountains, and reservoirs, a spacious saloon or refectory, a powder-magazine, and rows of shops for armourers and sutlers.

"For the same purpose, barracks were constructed also at Scutari for thirty thousand men, with a railed enclosure for the exercise of the soldiers, and all other conveniences similar to those of Levend Tchiftlik. Near these barracks, Selim built a mosck, and a range of wide, regular streets for the cotton and silk manufacturers.

"The inspector of the new troops was one of the principal men of the empire: their commander was a *capidge-bashe*, assisted by an intendant, two commissaries, and two clerks. Each regiment, commanded by a *bin-bashe*, consisted of one thousand and eighty privates, divided into twelve companies; and to these were attached ninety-six *topges* (or cannoniers), sixty *arabdges* (or carmen), twenty-four *sakas* (or water-carriers), and seventy-two attendants, called *caracolloutches*, with their proper officers. Each company had a field-piece, and was commanded by a captain, two lieutenants, an ensign, a *tchaouchi* (or serjeant) and ten corporals.

"That the military bodies attached to the regular troops might be effective, a reform was introduced into all their departments. The *topges* were improved in every respect: their old barracks were demolished, and new ones were built on a regular and better plan. Large quarters were assigned to them for their daily exercise. The *topge-bashe*, or commander of the corps, was regularly paid, and received the honours

Digitized by Google

of the tail: a *nasir* (or intendant), and a *kiatib* (or commissary), were added to their establishment. New regiments were raised, with proper officers and fusileers; and the uniforms of the officers and men were furnished by Government, and were different from each other. A commandant, an assistant, eight cannoniers, and ten fusileers, belonged to each cannon. In firing, the captain of the gun stood with four *topges* on the right, the lieutenant with four on the left, and five fusileers were placed on either side of the cannon. Every day, excepting Tuesdays and Wednesdays, they were exercised by five regiments at a time; and the artillery was practised with shot in the Valley of Sweet Waters. The exercise with the unloaded cannon took place on each holiday in the barracks. Surgeons were added to the corps. The guns themselves, of every class, were improved and cast on a new model. They were allotted separately by distinguishing marks to their different regiments; and the whole service was so contrived, that three days were sufficient to prepare any portion of the artillery for immediate activity.

"The *arabdjes*, or troops of the waggon-train, were also reformed. The *bashe* was allowed a regular salary, and the same distinction as the commander of the *topgee*; whilst new regiments of men and officers, paid and clothed by the Government, were enrolled in the former corps, and attached to the cannoniers, with whom they always exercised. To every gun-carriage were assigned one officer and five privates; and to every tumbril the same number. Barracks were built for them near those of the *topges*, with shops and stables, the repairs of which were superintended by the principal officers in quarters. They had a body of carpenters, smiths, saddlers, and farriers, besides a

Digitized by Google

mounted corps, with a commandant and subalterns, for dragging the cannons, which were under the same regulation as the *arabdges*, and were taught to act on foot with the cannoniers. The tumbril followed the gun, with five privates and an officer, who learned to halt at a word. On the march, provisions were regulated by a commissary.

" An important officer of state was named (not by rotation as before, but for a permanency) inspector of the powder-magazines. Formerly, not half of the three thousand quintals of powder, which should have been furnished by the three manufactories of Constantinople, Gallipoli, and Salonica, were supplied by those establishments; and the quality had been daily deteriorating in such a proportion, that it was unfit for any purpose but saluting; so that, although Turkey produces saltpetre in abundance, the powder used for service was purchased from the Franks at sixty and seventy piasters the quintal. The price of this article was therefore doubled, and expert artisans were hired for the construction of mills, as well as for the service of the manufactories. The magazines of Constantinople were repaired and augmented, and a large similar construction was built at Kutchuk-Chemedge, near the capital. The salaries of the workmen were tripled, and foreigners were paid from five hundred to a thousand piasters a month; and that the necessities of the state might not impoverish the subject, wood and all other articles were bought at the current price. Ten thousand quintals of powder, eight times stronger than that of the ancient manufacture, were soon furnished by the new mills; and if this quantity had not been sufficient, the supply might have been increased to thirty or forty thousand quintals.

" The bombadiers, anciently furnished from the

Digitized by Google

Ziamaths and Timars, or military fiefs, underwent a total change by the new regulations. They were all to have a fixed pay. A noble barrack, containing a refectory, a mathematical school, a foundery, workshops, magazines, and a mosck, was built for them at the lower end of the harbour below the arsenal. An inspector, taken from the great officers of state, and the *reis-effendi*, were charged with their superintendence; and they were under the orders of a commandant, an intendant, and a commissary. Ten bombadiers, five cadets, and one lieutenant, were allotted to each mortar: five mortars made a company, and were under the command of a lieutenant-in-chief: fifteen mortars composed a brigade, and the brigades were known by separate marks. The lieutenants and cadets wore uniforms different from those of the men, and the whole corps was to be distinguished from the miners by a red riband in the turban. They were ordered to exercise every day during summer at the barracks, and to study at the mathematical school; and finally, the commissary of the body was obliged to read aloud all the regulations, both old and new, at the barracks every month.

"The miners, a corps much neglected, were increased, and attached by the new constitution to the bombadiers, in whose barracks they occupied two sets of quarters. They were divided into two classes; one of which studied the art of mining, whilst the others applied themselves to every branch of military architecture, and might more properly have been called engineers. They were governed by a *bashe* and an intendant; and were instructed by the professors and assistants of the mathematical school, who were directed to write instructive treatises. The miners furnished by the old system, that is, those who were possessed of

Digitized by Google

military fiefs, and the cadets raised by the new constitution, employed themselves daily (excepting on Tuesdays and Fridays) in drawing plans and designing models in wood and plaster, the most ingenious and best constructed of which were presented to the Grand Vizir. In summer, they were exercised in exploding real mines, and in laying out entrenchments and camps. Once in every six weeks, they underwent a general examination, of which an exact report was presented to the Grand Vizir; and each month, the secretary recited the regulations in presence of the students, subjoining an exhortation to strict duty and good conduct.

"The marine was put under the superintendence of a ministry, formed on the plan of European admiralties; and the official details, which had been formerly entrusted to the *capudan-pasha* alone, were conducted by the *Ters-hane emini* and his assistant officers. The command of vessels had usually been set up to sale; but Hussein-Pasha undertook the examination of the candidates. Retaining such only as were fit for the service, he placed the unemployed on a list, to be elected in rotation to the vacant ships, and to attend in the mean time to the fleet in harbour. The pay of the captains was increased, and the invalids were allowed a permanent provision. None of them were either degraded or punished without being found guilty of a capital crime. The officers of each ship were ordered to be in active employ during summer and winter, and their pay to be according to their rank, their rank according to their merit. A captain of the port was chosen from the active commanders; and it was required of him that he should be thoroughly acquainted with the regulations of the admiralty, and know how to write and read. The same officer was,

Digitized by Google

together with the captain, furnished with an account of the ammunition, stores, and the whole outfit of each man-of-war. He was assisted by an intendant in victualling and refitting the fleet; and all embezzlement was punished with adequate severity. For the same end, the sails, cables, and every article of each vessel, were distinguished by a particular mark. The stores were no longer bought at a fixed low price, but according to their current value, by the intendant, whose purchases and accounts were inspected by the captain of the port and the commissioners of the admiralty. Five hundred carpenters, one hundred and fifty borers, and forty apprentices, retained at the former salary of twelve paras a day, and paid monthly, were raised and attached to the fleet; and a certain portion of them were distributed into the ships during the summer cruise, whilst the remainder were reviewed daily, and exercised at the arsenal. To these were added, two hundred Egyptian calkers, fed and clothed at the expense of the State, and lodged in barracks behind the admiralty. The ships were formed on a plan entirely new, and so strongly as to keep the sea four years without material repair: they were coppered; and the powder barrels were also changed for large copper canisters. Instead of the thirty or forty fires which were formerly seen in a ship of the line, one large furnace was provided for cooking the provisions of the crew, who were no longer served with six months' provisions individually, and allowed their Maltese slaves for attendants, but received a breakfast of olive salad, and a ration of *pilaf* on Fridays and Mondays, and of soups on other days, from the ship's store.

"Dry docks, calking basins, a harbour for fifty new gun-boats, and all the necessary appurtenances of

Digitized by Google

a great arsenal, were built at the edge of the water at Ters-Hane; and designs for similar contrivances were to be applied to the other principal harbours of the empire. A line-of-battle ship of three decks, a frigate, a corvette, and a brig, all copper-bottomed, were launched in one day during the year 1797, from the docks of Ters-Hane. It was provided, that two ships should perform their manœuvres once a year, in front of Beshik-Tash, or Ain-Alay-Kavak, in presence of the Sultan, who was to distribute rewards to the most expert of the officers and the crew; and it was also enjoined that the grandees of the court engaged in commerce, should purchase foreign-built merchantmen capable of standing the sea at all seasons of the year, and accordingly of instructing the Turkish sailors in the more difficult branches of practical navigation. An academy was built at the arsenal for the education of cadets, who were furnished with competent professors, and were divided into two classes, the one being instructed in naval architecture, and the other in navigation. This, and every other department of the marine, were confided to the superintendence of Messrs. Rhodes and Benoit.

"In addition to these institutions for the formation of the new troops and their attached corps, and the improvement of the Ottoman navies, a general regulation provided, that the Janissaries, amounting, it was supposed, to 400,000 men, should be exercised in the use of the musket, with their *sakas* and other assistants, by four regiments at a time, twice in every week, from the 4th of May to the 6th of November, and as often in winter as the weather would permit. Once a year, they were to march either to the downs of Daout-Pasha, three miles from the capital, or to the Valley of Sweet Waters, to be reviewed by the Sultan

Digitized by Google

in person. The *gebeges*, a sort of veteran battalion for the guard of the depôts, being more in number than sufficient for that purpose, were to be exercised and reviewed with the Janissaries. Lastly, for victualling the armies, magazines were constructed on the Danube, and at other points near the seat of war; and a sum of 12,500,000 piasters was appropriated for purchasing grain at the current price, and not at that fixed by the laws of the Miri, or Imperial Treasury, for the supply of the capital. The office of this department was built of stone in the first court of the Seraglio, and the management of it was assigned to a minister adequately remunerated and supplied with assistants.

"In order to provide for the increased disbursements of the public exchequer, it was found expedient to create a new revenue, as well as to appropriate a portion of the former income of the State exclusively to the purposes of the recent institution. To this end a treasury was formed, under the control of a great state-officer, chosen from amongst the chief men of the empire, with the title of Treasurer of the New Bank (*Iradi Djedid Tefterdary*), and Inspector of the New Troops (*Ta-alimlu Asker Nasiey*). To increase his emoluments, the office of Second Minister of the Finances, which had always been held by a person of importance, and conferred the honours of a seat in the divan next to the Chief Treasurer, of a scarlet pelisse, and of a led horse, was incorporated with the new place in the person of this minister, to whom a sufficient number of secretaries and other official assistants, all of them enjoying honourable appointments, were assigned.

"The revenues of the new treasury arose from a sale by auction of the tenths belonging to the *Mali-*

Digitized by Google

kiane (or fiefs held possessively), under the annual value of fifteen thousand piasters, upon the death of the respective proprietors by whom they were farmed, and by an absolute appropriation of the tenths above that value, to be managed according to circumstances, for the benefit of the new bank. The duties on the merchandise of Constantinople, and on the tobaccoes throughout the empire, instead of being let out as formerly, flowed immediately into the treasury, and caused at once a considerable augmentation of revenue. The military fiefs (*xiameths* and *timars*) in the hands of unserviceable owners, were confiscated, an estimation being made according to the census of these proprietaries collected in 1790; and a rule was established for filling up all future vacancies with cadets capable of actual service in the cavalry of the Ottoman armies. The fiefs originally granted for the equipment of the ancient marine, were applied to the benefit of the new bank. The new taxes were, a duty of two paras an oke on wine, and four on spirits for sale, levied on all Christian subjects, and of one para a head on sheep and goats. The tax on cotton, which was formerly an asper on every oke, and was farmed, was raised to one para for the raw material, and two paras for the thread, and was paid into the treasury. Gall-nuts were also taxed at one para, and currants at two paras an oke; and the revenues of the new bank amounted, in the year 1798, to 32,256,000 piasters.

"Such is the general outline of the *Nizam-Djedid*. It would require a whole volume, says Mahmoud Rayf, to enter into the detail of all the statutes which have been enacted relative to the different branches of the public revenue; but, although a few only have been cited, this sample will make known the wisdom of the august sovereign to whom we are indebted for

Digitized by Google

their institution; just as a single drop of water is sufficient to indicate the existence of the river from which it flows."

The grand object, the raising and disciplining of the Bostandje fusileers, proceeded with rapidity, although the number enrolled did not amount to more than 12,000 men, and was not sufficient to occupy one-fourth of the barracks designed for their reception. The *topges* evinced by their speedy improvement, the efficacy of their recent instruction. The introduction of printing had always been violently opposed by the *ulema* and the copiers of manuscripts. Ahmet III. had attempted the establishment of a printing-press near the kiosk of Kiat Hane; but his Armenian printers were obliged to desist, and the buildings appropriated to the establishment were converted to other purposes. Selim erected a large edifice at Scutari, well adapted for the purpose, but containing only one press; and competent persons were appointed to superintend the establishment and to execute the mechanical labour. Only forty different works, however, were produced in twelve years at the imperial press. Amongst these was the account of the *Nizam Djedid*, drawn up by Mahmoud Rayf-Effendi, in French.* But there were six other presses at the school of design at Ters-Hane, from which were issued various publications: the most important were, a Greek grammar and a dictionary of the Turkish, Arabic, and Persian languages.

* The following is the full title of the treatise: "*Tableau des nouveaux Règlemens de l'Empire Ottoman, composé par Mahmoud Rayf-Effendi, ci-devant Secrétaire de l'Ambassade Impériale, près de la Cour d'Angleterre. Imprimé dans la nouvelle Imprimerie de Génie sous la Direction d'Abdurrhemin Effendi, Professeur de Géometrie et d'Algèbre, à Constantinople*, 1798."

Digitized by Google

These enlightened innovations were viewed by the bulk of the community with little satisfaction; and the discontented artfully availed themselves of the Sultan's predilection for the arts and sciences of the Franks, his employment of the infidels, and above all, the marked kindness and confidence with which General Sebastiani was at all times received, to represent the whole series of his measures as a systematic attack upon the religion and fundamental laws of the empire. In the formation of the new troops and all the regulations of the *Nizam Djedid*, the Janizaries foresaw the extinction of their influence; and having determined upon revolt, they waited only for an occasion and a leader. The latter they found in the person of Mousa Pasha, the Caimacam. This man, by habitual dissimulation, had hitherto concealed his turbulent and ferocious character. Retaining his outward obedience and devotion to the Sultan, he privately fomented the discontents of the Janizaries, employing the apprehensions of the one and the menaces of the other, to destroy such of his fellow-ministers as had long been the objects of his vindictive spleen and hate.

The first symptom of the general disaffection was displayed among the garrisons in the castles and forts of the Bosphorus, which had been strengthened by new defences on each side of the canal. These garrisons had always been composed of *bostandjes*, who resented, as an intolerable slavery and violation of their ancient privileges, the trifling addition to their military duties required by the new discipline. It was at length found more feasible to form a new body of men altogether upon the new system, than to engraft a part of the recent regulations upon any corps belonging to the ancient establishment. A

Digitized by Google

suspicion prevailed, that these *bostandjes* were to be united to the new troops; and it was confirmed by the order for clothing them in the uniform of the fusileers. On the 25th of May, 1807, the garrisons burst into open mutiny, and the virtuous Rayf-Effendi was the first victim of their fury. On the morning of that day, he repaired to the castles, bearing the commands of the Sultan. Finding the troops indisposed to obey, he retreated hastily towards Buyuk-dere, but was pursued, overtaken by a boat of armed men in the bay, and immediately massacred. Halili-Aga, nazir of Hyssar castle, on the Asiatic shore, was murdered on the same day. On the next morning, the insurgents, to the number of three thousand, having assembled in the meadows of Buyuk-dere, chose for their general Katchaya Oglou, and marched directly to the capital. A message from the Seraglio, proposing a negotiation, was treated with as little attention as had been the previous orders of the Sultan. On the 27th, the Janizaries rose, and, as the signal of revolt, carried their kettles to the *Etmeidan*, or Place of Feasting; an open square, near the aqueduct of Valens, which is allotted to the distribution of provisions to the soldiery, and which has been, from time immemorial, the camp of the insurgents. While the melancholy clanking of their kettles still sounded in the streets of Constantinople as they passed to the place of rendezvous, the Mufti, in seeming concert with the Janizaries, issued an edict, entreating the inhabitants to take no part in the disturbance, to furnish the daily supply of provisions for the markets, and to consider the contest as one in which they had no concern. The Franks of Pera were also exhorted to remain tranquil, and to feel assured that their lives and properties would be secure under any event.

Digitized by Google

"The Sultan," continues Mr. Hobhouse, "was now awakened to a sense of his danger: he assembled his ministers at the Seraglio, and the 28th of the month was passed in negotiation with the insurgents in the *Etmeidan*. During that day, the fate of Selim was on the balance: he transmitted to the *Etmeidan* an offer to abolish the new institutions; to which the Janissaries returned no other answer than a demand for the immediate execution of all the ministers who had advised and presided over the *Nizam-Djedid*. Then it was that the Caimacam insidiously assured him, that the sacrifice was necessary, and would appease the rebels. All was not yet lost. If, at that moment, the gates of the Seraglio had been shut, a cannon had been fired, and the head of Mousa Pasha himself had been struck off and thrown over the walls, Selim would have triumphed, and retained the throne of his ancestors. But the instant peril and the presence of his enemies bewildered the faculties, and so absorbed the resolution of the Sultan, that he seems to have despaired of resistance, and to have placed all hopes of safety in submission alone. It was not suggested to his mind, that, with the new troops of Scutari and Tchiftlik, and other soldiers in the vicinity of the capital, he might speedily assemble thirty thousand men, not less devoted to himself than inimical to the Janissaries, and that, until their arrival, he could maintain the Seraglio against the rebels, by arraying the forces of his numerous body-guard. Yet, the testimony of all the reports prevalent at this day in Constantinople, concurs in the persuasion that such an opposition, with the instant death of the Caimacam, would have dismayed the insurgents and crushed the rebellion. But the traitor prevailed, and with a cruel ingenuity contrived to include in the proscription the

Digitized by Google

names of two old and innocent men, the *Kehayah-Bey* and the *Reis-Effendi*, who were called to a conference with Mousa, and on leaving the room, unsuspicious of their danger, were carried away to the second gate, and strangled. The number of heads presented to the Janissaries early on the morning of the 29th, was seven; but the ruffians, rising in their insolence, were not satisfied with the bloody offering; and, on recognising the aged victims of the resentment of Mousa, declared that they had required another sacrifice. 'The heads were not those of the enemies whose punishment they had demanded.' The Sultan, hearing this last intelligence, sent for the Mufti; and on learning that he withheld his advice, found that he had ceased to reign.

"The Janissaries, headed by the traitor Mousa, had already found their way into the Seraglio, when the Sultan retired to the mosak of the palace, and wrapping himself in the robe of Mahomet, took his seat in the corner of the sanctuary. Here he was found by the Mufti, who intreated him to submit to the wishes of the people, and to resign his crown. Another report says, that, previously to this moment, he had told his attendants that he would reign no more, and ordered them to bring his successor before him. The circumstances of his actual deposition were not exactly known; but on the evening of the same day (the 29th), it was understood in all the quarters of the capital, that Selim, the most injured, if not the best of the Ottomans, had stepped from a throne to a prison, and that the reigning monarch was his cousin, Mustafa the Fourth, eldest son of Sultan Abdulhamid.

"This prince, when he was drawn from the luxurious obscurity of his harem to gird on the sword of Mahomet, was thirty years old; but, not being pos-

Digitized by Google

sessed of a capacity sufficient to supply the defects of his education, the maturity of his age did not qualify him for the throne which he had been compelled so unexpectedly to usurp. From his advancement to the empire, he appeared the servant, rather than the master of the armed multitude to whom he was indebted for his elevation; and the period of his short reign is not marked by any act of the sovereign, but only by the successes and defeats of the various individuals and parties of his subjects, in their continued struggle for predominance. The beginning and the close, are the only transactions of his reign in which he himself may be said to have played any part. The Janissaries were in possession of the sceptre, and their enemies fell by the sword or the bow-string. The new institutions were abolished; and the new troops, after the execution of their principal officers, dispersed. Their triumph was but of short duration; and the lawless exercise of their usurped authority filled the capital with complaints, and spread from the centre to the furthest provinces of the empire. It was in vain to hope for a suppression of their insolence from the feeble and intimidated Sultan; but the ambition of a daring subject effected that which should have been accomplished by the virtue of the sovereign.

"Mustafa, Pasha of Rudshuk, retained, in the surname of *Bairactar* (the ensign), a memorial of the humble rank which he had originally held in the Turkish armies, and carried about him, affixed, as it were, to his person, a visible instance of that exaltation of merit of which the Turkish history can furnish so many and such extraordinary examples. He was rude and illiterate, but of a vigorous genius, which supplied the expedients as well as the suggestions of ambition, and rising with every exigency, proved

Digitized by Google

equal to the accomplishment, not less than the creation of the most daring projects. His rise was as rapid as his endeavours were unremitting; and after repeatedly distinguishing himself in the armies of the empire, he attracted the notice of Selim, and was honoured with a pashalik. It was the boast of Bairactar, that he owed his advance to the personal regard of the Sultan, and his subsequent conduct evinced that he respected Selim as his patron and his friend; but he was averse to the innovations of his master, and, either from a suspected attachment to the Janissaries, or a confidence in his military prowess, was dismissed to the command of a body of forces on the frontier, and to the distant government of Rudshuk. From the moment he was informed of the deposition of Selim, it appears that he contemplated the bold design of seizing upon the government; and convinced of the pernicious measures of the Janissaries, or seeing no other way of raising himself than by depressing that lawless body, determined upon opposing the hardy troops of the provinces to the enervated militia of Constantinople *.

"So early as the October of the same year in which Selim had been dethroned, Bairactar despatched to the Sultan a formal notice, that he should advance to the capital to reform the abuses of the state, and to assist him in the administration of public affairs. Accordingly, he collected a force of nearly forty thousand men, composed chiefly of Albanians from the garrisons of

* This measure had frequently been attempted. Nassuf-Pasha, vizir to Ahmed I., employed the *spahis* and provincial troops for their subjection, but was finally sacrificed. Delavir-Pasha, vizir to Osman II., proposed, in 1620, to raise a new militia from among the Kourds. He was cut to pieces, and Osman himself lost his throne and his life.

Digitized by Google

Roumelia; and marching to Constantinople about the end of the year, he encamped on the plains of *Daout-Pasha*, four miles from the walls of the city. His arrival was the signal of submission. He convoked the chief men of the empire, and depositing the banner of Mahomet, which he had unfurled to give a sanction and support to his enterprise, made them swear to the gradual abolition of the Janissaries, and a restoration of the good order and tranquillity of the state. The Sultan was an unnoticed spectator of the arrangement. Even the semblance of power was transferred from the Seraglio to the camp at Daout-Pasha; for the ministers of the Porte, and the missions of Pera, directed their visits of ceremony to the tent of the triumphant general, who, without any acknowledged title or specific office, was thus for several months in full possession of the Imperial power. But the Pasha, aware that the Mussulmans, accustomed to revere the representative of their prophet, might experience a renewal of favour for their degraded sovereign, resolved upon the elevation of a sultan who, in return for the crown, might render his authority legitimate, and give a sanction to his ambition.

"The 28th of July, of the year 1808, was fixed upon by Mustafa for a hunting expedition to the forests of Belgrade; and it was determined by Bairactar to enter the Seraglio on the same day, during the absence of the Grand Signior, and preventing his return to the palace, finally to exclude him from the throne. Selim was yet alive in those apartments of the Seraglio which the crimes and misfortunes of the Ottomans have set apart for the confinement of their dethroned princes; and it was the preservation of the Sultan whom he resolved to restore, that prompted

Digitized by Google

him to attempt by stratagem that which he might have accomplished by force. Unfortunately, the secret of his intention was not confined to his own breast, but was intrusted to several of the ministers of the divan; and the Grand Vizir, though a friend, was suspected to have betrayed him to the Sultan; for, on the appointed day, when Bairactar marched into the city, he found the gates of the Seraglio closed, the pages and body-guard under arms, and every preparation for a determined resistance.

"The victorious rebel, disappointed but not intimidated, gave orders for an immediate assault. The contest lasted only a short time, but the interval was fatal to Selim. On the sound of the first shot, the emissaries of the Sultan were despatched to his apartments, where they found, as is reported, the dethroned monarch at his devotions, and attempted to surprise him whilst in the attitude of prayer. He discerned their purpose, and before the bow-string could be fitted to his neck, wounded one of the mutes with his hangiar, but being thrown upon his back, was overpowered, and instantly strangled.

"From the murder of Selim, the executioners proceeded to the apartments of Mahmoud, the youngest son of Abdulhamid, and the only remaining prince of the blood royal. There was still some hope for the Sultan in the eventual death of his brother. Selim was no more; the rebels, the audacious Bairactar himself, would respect the last of the Ottoman race. The mutes rushed into the chamber of the confined prince; but Mahmoud was no where to be found: the fond fidelity of a slave had concealed him in the furnace of a bath. The feeble contest continued under the walls, and the assailants thundered at the gates, whilst the search for the prince was prosecuted with

Digitized by Google

redoubled eagerness and anxiety. The place of his concealment had alone escaped the scrutiny, and the fate of the monarchy depended upon whether or not the gates should be forced before the royal prisoner was discovered. What must have been the feelings of Mahmoud, what the sensations of his faithful slave, when the shouts of the Albanians proclaimed that Bairactar had burst his way into the seraglio? The insurgents rushed to the interior of the palace, headed by their leader, and by the intrepid Seid Ali, the Capudan-Pasha. Advancing to the third gate, they called aloud for the instant appearance of Selim; and the eunuchs of Mustafa, casting the body of the murdered monarch before them, exclaimed, 'Behold the sultan whom ye seek!' Bairactar, overpowered at the sight, threw himself on the corpse of his murdered benefactor, and wept bitterly; but being roused by the exhortation of Seid Ali, who told him that this was not the time for grief, but for revenge, proceeded hastily to the presence-chamber. Mustafa never shewed himself worthy of his crown, until the moment when he was compelled to resign it. He did not despair of awing the rebels into submission by the Ottoman majesty; at least, he was determined to fall with dignity; and, on the entrance of Bairactar, was found seated upon his throne in his usual state, and surrounded by the officers of the imperial household. The indignant chief was not moved by the august spectacle, but, advancing towards the Sultan, drew him from his seat, saying to him in a bold and angry tone, 'What dost thou there? Yield that place to a worthier!'

"The account of the conduct of the Sultan is variously related in the different reports of this last transaction of his reign; but, whatever was the mea-

Digitized by Google

sure of his resistance, it proved ineffectual; for on the same night, the cannon of the Seraglio announced to the people the dethronement of Mustafa the Fourth, and the elevation of Mahmoud the Second.

"The first act of the new reign was the instalment of Bairactar in the post to which he had aspired, and which, at the hands of Mahmoud at least, he well deserved. No sooner was the seal of the empire committed to his charge, than the Visier commenced his projected reform with the punishment of those who had been concerned in the first revolution and the deposition of Selim. The traitor Mousa Pasha lost his head. The officers of the castles on the Bosphorus, who had led the insurgents at Buyuk-dere, the most seditious of the Janissaries, and all those of the household who had opposed the deposition of Mustafa, were arrested and strangled. The last Visier Azem was dismissed to the government of Ismael, to which place many others of the ministers, suspected rather than guilty of disinclination to the late transaction, were also banished. The savage order which destroyed the females of the harem near the shores of Prince's Islands, was then issued and executed; and other acts of a complexion less inhuman, but equally decisive, convinced the inhabitants of the capital, that the new minister was not to be deterred from the adoption of such measures as appeared to him calculated to restore the ancient vigour of the Turkish power.

"The Visier openly avowed his resolution of abolishing the Janissaries, or at least of reforming their system, and retrenching upon their privileges. He refused the disbursement of pay to any of the corps, except such as were in service and performing either the duty of the internal police, or of an actual campaign against the enemy. The disorder and pre-

Digitized by Google

sumption which had so frequently disturbed the tranquillity of the capital were entirely suppressed. Constantinople and its suburbs were protected by the presence of the provincial troops; and the peace and good order preserved by the Albanians of Bairactar are still remembered with admiration and regret by the citizens of every denomination. Mahmoud was unable to oppose, and it may be thought that he approved the measures of his minister. It was natural that the Janissaries should be the objects of his terror and his hate, and that he should be no unwilling instrument in the hands of the Vizier, in promulgating the repeated acts by which their character was degraded and their influence undermined.

"To restore the new troops of Sultan Selim was thought too hardy and perilous an adventure; and by one of those errors which generally attend every temporising and middle system, it was judged more expedient to revive the military body of the Seimens, who might supply the place, and be regulated according to the discipline of the former fusileers. The name, however, of the re-established corps was more odious to the Janissaries, than even that of Selim's soldiery, as belonging to an institution more ancient than their own; and they were only the more resolved to ruin the author of the innovation. Their actual subjection, and their fear of the provincial forces, not less than the complete dissimulation which it is a part of Turkish capacity at any time to command, contributed to favour their projects of revenge, and to deceive the confident Bairactar, who fell into the usual error of prosperity, and began to despise the enemy whom he had irreconcileably injured. He even seems to have felt some compunction for the depression and disgrace of the ancient soldiery

Digitized by Google

of the empire, to whom it owed all its former glory, and amongst whom he himself had commenced his military career.

"Being persuaded that they had submitted and were reconciled to his administration, he relaxed the severity of his proceedings against them; and between the hope of making use of them as friends, and the contempt of their resistance as enemies, came at last to the fatal resolution of breaking up the camp at Daout-Pasha, and dismissing the greater part of the provincial forces.

"The number of soldiers attached to the Vizier, who still remained in the capital, amounted only to 4000; but Cadi Pasha, the friend and associate of Bairactar, with 8000 Asiatics, was encamped on the heights and in the barracks of Scutari. On the 14th of November, after the *passevend* had commenced their nightly rounds, a large body of the Janissaries issued from their quarters, and surrounding the palace of the Porte, at that time the habitation of the Vizier and the ministers, immediately set fire to the building. Bairactar and his friends, on the discovery of the assault, contrived to escape and shelter themselves in Barut-Hane, a small powder-magazine of stone; but those who were unable to flee, were either destroyed by the assailants, or consumed in the conflagration. The Janissaries rushed to the other dwellings in which their enemies were lodged, and laid the vicinity of the Porte in ashes. Barut-Hane they attacked in vain; but in the middle of the night, a tremendous explosion shook all the quarters of the capital, and it was found that the magazine, with the Grand Vizier and his companions, had been blown into the air. Whether this event occurred by accident or by design, is at this day unknown, but it decided the issue, although it

Digitized by Google

was far from proving the conclusion of the contest. The Seimens, the armed populace, and the Albanians, who would have rallied under Bairactar, and perhaps have overpowered their antagonists, were dispirited by the fatal event; but seeing that they were destined for slaughter, prepared for a determined resistance. The streets of the city during the whole of the 15th, were the scene of a continued action, in which the Janissaries were worsted; but the Seimens suffered severely in the loss of the nephew of their late master, a youth of distinguished bravery, whom they had placed at their head. The Janissar-Aga on the same day imprudently made his appearance in the *Etmeidan*, in the turban of the new regulation, and was massacred by his own soldiers, who chose for their general the next in command. The *Galiondges* of the arsenal, although Seid Ali, the Capudan Pasha, had declared against the Janissaries, and the *Topges*, remained under arms, but took no part in the struggle.

"On the 16th, Cadi-Pasha passed over from Scutari at the head of his 8000 troops, and marching through the court of St. Sophia, proceeded to the barracks of the *Gebeges*, in the vicinity of the mosck, where 500 of the Janissaries had taken their stand. Cadi, surrounding the square, did not attempt to force an entrance, but setting fire to the building, retained his regiments at their stations until the quarters were consumed, and the whole of the 500 were burnt alive. The Asiatics, leaving the ruins in flames, made no efforts to extinguish the spreading conflagration, but departed in search of their enemies, and filled the streets with carnage. The town was in a blaze from the walls of the Seraglio to the aqueduct of Valens; and a man-of-war, by the order of Seid Ali, continued at the same time to play upon the

Digitized by Google

Janissaries' barracks. The event was doubtful on the night of the 16th, during which the shrieks of the women, the shouts of the soldiers, and the repeated discharges of fire-arms, declared to the terrified inhabitants of Pera that the sanguinary struggle had not ceased in any quarter of the city. The fire had raged for four-and-twenty hours, and the artillery of the ship was still beating upon the barracks of the *Et-meidan*, when, on the ensuing morning, the forces of the arsenal and of Tophana announced that they had united themselves to the Janissaries, and thus gave the victory to the least deserving of the antagonists.

"Until that moment, Sultan Mahmoud, having closed the palace gates, awaited within the walls of the Seraglio the event of the contest; but the decision of the seamen and the cannoniers rendered it necessary for him to consult his own safety by an exertion of the imperial authority in behalf of the triumphant party. His counsellors, for it is not known that Mahmoud gave the order, thought fit to secure him from the victors by the death of the imprisoned Mustafa, who was strangled, and that so secretly, that the circumstances of his execution have never transpired. Having therefore nothing to dread from the former partiality of the Janissaries for his immediate predecessor, and seeing that their cause had been espoused by the most powerful and entire of the remaining military bodies, he despatched his mandate to the ship to cease the cannonade, and transmitted at the same time to the Janissaries an assurance that the cause of their complaints did no longer exist—*the Seimens were abolished for ever*. No sooner was the resolve of the Sultan made known, than the firing ceased in every part of the city, except where the successful soldiery still vented their rage upon the unre-

Digitized by Google

sisting populace. Seid Ali and Cadi Pasha, on seeing their adherents disperse, left the Seraglio Point in two wherries, and rowing hastily up the Bosphorus, fled with such speed, that, although a corvette weighed anchor and proceeded in pursuit of them in less than three hours after their departure, they effected their escape. The head of Cadi was subsequently sent to the Seraglio.

"The Janissaries were not suddenly appeased by the conciliation of the Sultan, and the submission of their opponents: they employed the 18th of the month in destroying every vestige of the invidious institution. A large body passed over to Scutari, and burnt the magnificent barracks of Sultan Selim on the heights above that suburb; whilst another division marched to Levend Tchiftlik, and commenced an attack on 500 Seimens, who with equal valour and success maintained themselves against a multitude of assailants, until their quarters were fired, and they perished in the flames. This was their last great massacre, and from this period, although some individual victims were afterwards sacrificed to their resentment, their fury appears to have been gradually allayed.

"On the 19th, Mahmoud having issued a proclamation exhorting his subjects to keep the Bairam, which commenced on that day, in peace, they attended tranquilly and in good order the funeral of Mustafa, who was conveyed with much pomp from the Seraglio to the tomb of the Sultan Abdulhamid, his father. The same day, the streets were cleansed and cleared of the dead, 3000 of whom were either buried or thrown into the sea. After a long search, the body of their great enemy, of the Vizier himself, was found under the ruins of Barut-Hane.

"In an open space near one end of the hippodrome,

Digitized by Google

there are two trees standing by themselves, and at a little distance apart. Between these, by the feet, and with the head downwards, they suspended the disfigured corpse of Bairactar.

"Such was the close of the most sanguinary of three revolutions which occurred within the short period of eighteen months, and which, after dethroning two monarchs, and spilling the best blood of the empire, terminated in so entire a re-establishment of every former prejudice, that, for the Turks, the last twenty years have passed in vain. Of the late military institutions, not a vestige remains; for, although the *topges* retain a portion of that discipline which they learned from De Tott, they have dropped the new regulations; and their services in the last revolution having produced the union of the two corps, every jealousy has been mutually laid aside. The schools of the arsenal and the barracks of the bombardiers are not less deserted than the exercise-grounds of Scutari and Levend Tchiftlik; nor can the pious alarms of the *Ulema* be now raised by the unhallowed encouragement of Christian refinements. The presses of Ters-Hane are without employ; the French language has ceased to be taught in the Seraglio; and the palace of Beshik-Tash is no longer enlivened by the ballets and operas which amused the leisure of the unfortunate Selim."

The work from which we have drawn the above narrative, was published in 1813, since which period the Janizaries appear to have remained virtually the sovereigns of the capital. In 1822, however, the frequent murders and frightful disorders of which they were guilty, instigated by fanaticism and revenge, together with the discovery of a plot on the 11th of June, for a general massacre of the Christians, led to

Digitized by Google

the issuing of a *hatti-shereef* against the Janizaries, in which the Sultan threatened, unless an immediate stop was put to such atrocious proceedings, to abandon the capital, taking with him his two sons, and to leave Constantinople to be ruled by ruffians whose enormities made it a disgrace to continue on the throne. By this energetic proclamation, the city was restored from a state of anarchy to its usual lethargic repose, and Franks, Greeks, Jews, and Armenians, as well as Moslems, resumed their occupations.*

The present year (1826) has witnessed the commencement of another conflict between the Sultan and this ungovernable class of his subjects, who have so long defied the efforts of successive monarchs to restrain their audacity, and to subordinate them to the throne. While the issue yet remains in uncertainty, it would be premature to give any account of the late transactions, by which the power of the Janizaries seems to be extinguished in the capital. The preceding sketch will sufficiently explain the origin and nature of the contest, and will shew that the extermination of the order afforded the only chance of preserving the shrunk and faded remains of the once powerful Ottoman monarchy.

As long ago as the reign of Soliman, it was predicted by Nicolas Daulphinois, who accompanied the French embassy, that the Janizaries would one day become formidable to their masters, and act the same part at Constantinople that the Prætorian bands did at Rome.† It is true, that the two military bodies were instituted for very different objects, and that they differed not less in the nature of their services. The

* Waddington's Greece, p. 21.

† Robertson's Charles V., note 45.

Digitized by Google

government of the Roman empire was constitutionally elective, and the power of the monarch was founded only on force. The Prætorian bands were permanently established for the purpose of protecting the person of the emperor, and of overawing the senate and the people. The prerogative of the Sultans is founded on the Mussulman religion; it is tied up to a legitimate succession; and it is interwoven with the very existence of the Ottoman community. The order of Janizaries was instituted, not for the purpose of maintaining the authority of the sovereign over his natural subjects, but of extending his dominion over foreign nations; and in point of fact, as Thornton remarks, whenever the authority of the Sultan has been in jeopardy, recourse has been had to a declaration of war against some foreign power, in order to have a pretence for removing the armed force from the seat of government, and for restoring the authority of the laws. The Janizaries have never been able, like the Prætorian guards, to trample with impunity upon the constitution, to usurp its sovereign prerogatives, and to put the empire up to sale. In the midst of their excesses, they have evinced a regard for the frame-work of the constitution, and an anxiety to preserve from extinction the sacred dynasty of Othman; * and their revolts have been in resistance to innovations and infringements upon their supposed rights, not for the purposes of revolutionary enterprise. Still, though

* "A weak or a vicious sultan may be deposed or strangled; but his inheritance devolves to an infant or an ideot; nor has the most daring rebel presumed to ascend the throne of his lawful sovereign. While the transient dynasties of Asia have been continually subverted by a crafty vizir in the palace, or a victorious general in the camp, the Ottoman succession has been confirmed by the practice of five centuries, and is now incorporated with the vital principle of the Turkish nation."—GIBBON.

Digitized by Google

their order cannot be regarded as a necessary part of the system of Ottoman despotism, but has rather been a check upon the imperial prerogative, it has frequently proved, in its consequences to the individual sovereign, not less fatal than that of the Prætorian guard. *

On a review of this brief sketch of the Ottoman history, it will be seen, that the Turkish monarchy was indebted for its rise and its greatness to three leading causes; the debased and fallen state of the Eastern empire, the mutual animosities of the Greeks and Latins, and the decided superiority of the conquerors over the degenerate nations of Christendom.† The chief engine of their success was their military system, which, in point both of discipline and skill, was decidedly in advance of the tactics of Christian

* Thornton remarks, that the Janisaries might be compared with greater propriety to the legions of Rome, except that the latter were encamped on the frontiers of the empire. The power and functions of the Prætorian prefect are very correctly compared by Montesquieu to those of the Grand Vizir, not of the Janizar-aga; and the governors of the Roman provinces were the pashas of the republic.

† The state of Christendom in the fifteenth century, is thus strikingly described by Æneas Sylvius, afterwards Pius II. "It is a body without a head, a republic without laws or magistrates. The pope and the emperor may shine as lofty titles, as splendid images; but they are unable to command, and none are willing to obey. Every state has a separate prince, and every prince has a separate interest. What eloquence could unite so many discordant and hostile powers under the same standard? Could they be assembled in arms, who would dare to assume the office of general? What order could be maintained?—what military discipline? Who could undertake to feed such an enormous multitude? Who would understand their various languages, or direct their stranger and incompatible manners? What mortal could reconcile the English with the French, Genoa with Aragon, the Germans with the natives of Hungary and Bohemia? If a small number enlisted in the holy war, they must be overthrown by the infidels: if many, by their own weight and confusion."—GIBBON, c. 66.

Digitized by Google

Europe. "At an earlier period," remarks Mr. Thornton, "the military science of the Greeks, and the numerous armies of Persia, had been forced to yield to the compact pressure of the Macedonian phalanx; and the phalanx, in its turn, was vanquished by the legion, the last and chief improvement of the ancient warfare." On the abolition of the legion, a barbarous system succeeded, of heroic but desultory warfare, to which the Turks opposed a standing force in regular pay and training, animated with a spirit of enthusiasm, wielded by the vigorous arm of a military despotism. To the close array of these hardy and well-disciplined bands, the Byzantine emperors opposed foreign mercenaries or disaffected subjects; "strangers without faith, veterans without pay or arms, and recruits without experience or discipline."* The only hope of salvation for the Greek empire and the adjacent kingdoms would have been, as Gibbon remarks, some powerful weapon, some discovery in the art of war, that should have given them a decided superiority over their Turkish foes. The invention of gunpowder would have presented such a weapon, had it been found possible to circumscribe the secret within the pale of the church; but "it was disclosed to the Turks by the treachery of apostates, and the selfish policy of rivals; and the sultans had sense to adopt, and wealth to reward, the talents of a Christian engineer. The Genoese, who transported Amurath into Europe, must be accused as his preceptors; and it was probably by their hands, that his cannon was cast and directed at the siege of Constantinople."†

The very extraordinary succession of able rulers

* Gibbon.

† Ib. c. 65. The siege of Constantinople was distinguished by a union of the ancient and modern artillery. The Historian states

Digitized by Google

must also be taken into account as a main cause of the establishment of the Ottoman empire. "Except in a single instance," remarks Gibbon, "a period of nine reigns and two hundred and sixty-five years is occupied, from the elevation of Othman to the death of Soliman, by a rare series of warlike and active princes, who impressed their subjects with obedience and their enemies with terror." Nor can we refuse to admit that, at that dark period, the Mohammedan sultans were not the least enlightened, the least accomplished, or the least tolerant of European sovereigns. Such was the disordered state of Europe, the oppression under which the people were held, and the calamities to which they were exposed from intestine wars and ecclesiastical tyranny, that the dominions of the Sultan formed, perhaps, at one period, those in which the greatest portion of civil liberty and personal security could be enjoyed, and through which social happiness was most widely diffused. The early sultans were distinguished by their erudition and their love of learning. A college and a library were considered as indispensable appendages to a mosque of the first order; and the philosophy of Aristotle and the works of Plato were translated into Turkish.* In comparison with the Goths, the Turks do not deserve to be called illiterate; nor were they in this respect inferior to the Crusaders. At the period of the conquest of Constantinople, elementary knowledge had not revived in Western Europe; and as to the Greeks of the lower

(c. 68), that "a founder of cannon, a Dane or Hungarian, who had been almost starved in the Greek service, deserted to the Moslems, and was liberally entertained by the Turkish sultan."

* It is a saying attributed to Mohammed, "that the ink of the learned and the blood of the martyrs are of equal value in heaven." "Be the support of the faith and protector of the sciences," were among the last words of Osman to his son Orkhan.

Digitized by Google

empire, it may be questioned whether their conquerors did not adopt all that they were able to teach them. In navigation, agriculture, and the mechanical arts, the Ottomans became the ready pupils of the Christian nations, and their proficiency up to a certain point, was strikingly rapid. The maritime superiority which they so speedily attained, and which enabled them to threaten at one time the capital of Christendom, is a highly remarkable circumstance, not to be overlooked in the enumeration of the causes of the Ottoman greatness.

The decline of that greatness may be attributed, in a word, to the arrest laid upon the intellectual advancement of the Turkish nation, by its religion and institutions, while, in every other state of Europe, the march of knowledge has been more or less progressive. It is not in the nature of things, that either the mind of man or the state of a community should be stationary: when it ceases to advance, it must retrograde. But various circumstances have contributed to throw the Turks far behind the other nations of Europe, so that even the barbarous Muscovite has got the start of the polished Ottoman. The revival of letters, the invention of printing, the subversion of feudalism, the new direction and impulse given to commerce, the advancement of science and the arts, the improvements more especially in ship-building and nautical science, and above all, the extension of civil and religious liberty, have changed the whole face of Europe, leaving the Ottoman empire like a crumbling relic of barbarous architecture in the midst of the stately edifices of modern art.

Among the causes which have produced the decline of the Turkish monarchy, the discovery of the navigation to India by the Cape of Good Hope, has not been one of the least influential. Previously to that

Digitized by Google

discovery, the Venetians had formed establishments in the ports of Syria and Egypt, and had obtained the grant of various commercial privileges from the Mamelouks, which were confirmed by Selim I. To these ports the valuable commodities of China and India would have continued to be brought, or would have found their way overland to those of the Black Sea, and thence by a short navigation to Constantinople, had not a new channel been opened for that commerce which in every age has been the richest source of mercantile wealth and greatness. About the year 1620, the voyages to the East Indies by the new route, are stated to have lowered so considerably the prices of Indian merchandise, that, the trade between India and Turkey by the Persian Gulf and the Red Sea having much decayed, the Grand Signior's customs were greatly lessened.* On ceasing to be mistress of the commerce of that age, the national strength of Turkey began to be impaired, and her importance in the political system of Europe was greatly diminished.

The decrease of internal commerce, arising from the insecurity of the roads, the slow transportation of goods, and intestine commotions, must also be regarded as a main cause of the decline of the empire. Every article of export has fallen off, and agriculture, manufacturing industry, and population have undergone a frightful diminution. The extent to which the public revenue must have suffered in consequence, is incalculable; and the poverty of the Porte, which has crippled its military force, must assuredly be ranked among the causes of its declining power.

"Five hundred villages," Mr. Walpole says, "are not now found in the district of Merdin (in Mesopo-

* Anderson's Hist. of Commerce, xi. 3.

Digitized by Google

tamia), which once possessed sixteen hundred. Cyprus, before the Turkish conquest, contained 14,000 villages. In two insurrections, great numbers of the inhabitants were slain; a dreadful mortality was occasioned by the plague in 1624; and in less than fifty years from that time, seven hundred villages only could be found. Three hundred were once comprehended in a part of the pashalik of Aleppo, now containing less than one third of the number. Many towns are mentioned in the history of the khalifs, which no longer exist: the site of others may be traced on the route from Bagdad to Mosul..... The reservoirs and canals by which the fertility of Palestine, Syria, Egypt, and Babylonia, under the Saracens and Mamlouks, was augmented and improved, have been neglected.... A melancholy illustration of the depopulated state of large tracts of country, is afforded by the view of those extensive cemeteries so frequently passed by the traveller in his route. Scarcely any vestiges of the villages which once flourished near them are now seen. The incursions of robbers, the calamities of war and pestilence, have compelled the inhabitants to remove to other districts. The countries between the Tigris and the Euphrates, once distinguished for their populousness, are consigned to ruin and neglect; and the inhabitants retire to villages on the banks of rivers, where they are less harassed by the predatory attacks of the Arabs."* Between Angora and Constantinople, there is a constant communication by caravans; and Eton affirms, that there were old people living in his time, who could remember between forty and fifty villages in the road, of which no vestiges now remain. The whole coast of Syria, which, a few years before, was

* Walpole's Memoirs relating to Turkey, p. 9. See also Eton's Survey, p. 276.

Digitized by Google

tolerably populous, had been reduced to almost a desert. Aleppo, Tripoli, Latikia, Mosul, Diarbekir, Merdin, Bagdadt, and Bassora, have all fallen off, some of them to an incredible degree.* The Syrian coast has indeed been desolated chiefly by earthquakes. The inhabitants of Tripoli and Akka are subject to disorders arising from mephitic exhalations. In some parts of Greece, the rivers, obstructed in their channels, have spread into morasses. "In the memory of the inhabitants of the present day," we are told, "new marshes have been observed in the valleys of Arcadia."† Leprous affections are also becoming more frequent. "It is a consequence of the depopulated and neglected state of Greece, Asia, and Syria," remarks Mr. Hawkins, "that there is no considerable district which is not exposed in some degree to the effects of a corrupted atmosphere.... The spots in Greece where the malaria is most noxious, are salt-works and rice-grounds; and we meet with a striking example of the former at Milo, where, since the beginning of the last century, when the island was visited by Tournefort, four-fifths of the population have been lost in consequence of the establishment of a small salt-work. Patras, a place celebrated in the time of Cicero for the salubrity of the air, has become unhealthy, because the plain around it is subject to irrigation. In Attica, a country once distinguished

* Eton's statements are always suspicious, from his tendency to exaggerate, and his silence as to his authorities. He affirms, that the population of Aleppo had sunk, since 1770, from 230,000 to 40 or 50,000; but Seetzen estimated it at 150,000, which is still a great reduction. Diarbekir, Eton says, contained, in 1756, 400,000 inhabitants, of whom three-fourths were carried off by an epidemic in 1757. The plague of 1773 is said to have swept away two-thirds of the population of Bagdadt.

† Walpole, p. 13.

Digitized by Google

for the purity of its air and climate, the effects of the disorder are felt at Marathon; and the streams of the Cephissus, which are wholly consumed in irrigation, diffuse it through the plain of Athens."*

The general improvement of the empire has been unquestionably retarded by the barbarous policy of confining within the walls of the Seraglio the hereditary princes of the Ottoman blood, and thus depriving them of all means of acquiring that general and practical knowledge which should qualify them to fill the throne. The Grand Vizir Kioprili Mustafa Pasha is reported to have said, that all the sultans after Soliman had been either tyrants or fools. How should it have been otherwise, condemned as they are from their birth to a monastic seclusion, the bow-string continually suspended over their necks, eunuchs their tutors, and slaves their companions, without incentives to exertion, and excluded from every sphere of social virtue or honourable ambition? † A Turkish sultan

* Walpole, p. 13.

† "The presumptive heirs to the empire live in honourable confinement in the palace called *Eski Serai*, and are placed by the law under the more especial protection of the Janisar-aga, whose duty it is to guard them from the cruelty or jealousy of the Sultan: hence he is honoured by them with the name of *lala*, tutor or foster-father. The custom of imprisoning the minor princes, is repugnant to the spirit of Mussulman legislation, and is a law of the Seraglio, dictated by fear and cruelty, the ruling passions of an effeminate tyrant. These victims of corrupt political institution are sequestered from general society, except when they momentarily quit their prison during the festival of the *bairam* in order to present their homage to the Sultan. Sensual gratifications constitute their only enjoyments; and even these are embittered by the reflection, (if men so educated are capable of reflection,) that the offspring of their luxury is condemned to be torn from the first embraces of its parents by the hands of the assassin. '*La sage-femme qui le reçoit, est tenue, au risque de sa vie, de ne pas le laisser vivre.*'"—THORNTON, vol. i. p. 119.

Digitized by Google

at the head of his troops, was the object of a loyal enthusiasm, which rendered him absolute, not merely by the terror of his power, but by the force of opinion; and the most distant provinces were kept in awe by means of the promptness and decision which pervaded the whole administration, when the monarch was the centre and heart of the system. But the sultan in the seraglio, trembling at the power of his own Janizaries, unable to execute even the reforms he is anxious to introduce into any branch of administration, is not only himself reduced to a mere pageant, but, by his own weakness, paralyses every part of the political system.

The deterioration of discipline and order in the Janizaries themselves, which is said to have been connived at by Mahommed IV., from a mistaken policy,* may be dated from the reign of Murad III., who permitted them to enrol their children in their order, and thus gave them an individual interest as citizens, as well as an independence of their sovereign, totally foreign to the nature and design of their original institution.† When, instead of being "*children of the tribute*" and of the sultan, they acknowledged another father than their emperor, they began to be equally dangerous to the government and to the enemies of the Porte. "Those of the present day," says Mr. Hobhouse, "are most of them artisans who have been enrolled either as children of these soldiers by their fathers, or have entered into the corps for protection and an increase of individual importance. The number of those who receive their pay (amounting to about 3*d*. daily for

* To this cause, and to their having quitted the laborious exercise of arms to follow mechanical or other lucrative occupations, Count Marsigli ascribes the discredit into which they had in his time already fallen. See Thornton, vol. i. p. 240.

† See an account of their original discipline and character in Gibbon, c. 65.

Digitized by Google

each man *) at the Seraglio, is, according to Thornton, 40,000; but in the year 1798, all the Janizaries enrolled in the capital and the provinces amounted to more than 400,000.† Their prowess in battle is now comparatively despised even by the Turks themselves, and has been proved by recent events to be inferior to that of the provincial soldiery. The vast dominion still possessed by the Ottoman sultans is upheld by neither the real nor the reputed vigour of the Janizaries, which is felt most, and may be almost said to be formidable only at Constantinople."

Finally, the constitution of the empire, which adapted it to become great by conquest, has been the true cause that, so soon as the impulse of military ardour ceased to operate, the whole fabric relapsed into feebleness and disorder. "One of the evils," remarks their Apologist, "and by no means the least of those necessarily accompanying despotism, is, that it represses the spring of improvement which there is in society. Whatever talents may have been called forth during the struggle which despotism was making to establish its dominion, become stationary at best, or more probably retrograde, when once it has perfected its plan, and stretched itself out to repose on the summit of its

* The allowance was equal, at the institution of the corps, to about a shilling sterling per day, but is now reduced, by the debasement of the coin, to about a fourth of its original value.—Thornton, vol. i. p. 233.

† Those Janizaries who do not join their standard, are called *yamaks*, and receive no pay. "Though enrolled, they are not embodied into *odas* (companies), but are dispersed throughout the empire, living as burghers, mixed with the people, and following different trades and professions, or idle vagabonds, or at best but labouring peasants."—Thornton, i. 231. Baron De Tott estimates them at 400,000; Eton at 113,400; but the latter does not include the *yamaks*. Mr. Hobhouse's statement is taken from the work of Mahmoud Rayf-Effendi.

Digitized by Google

power. We behold with wonder, in the history of the world, the empire of China, which has been arrested many centuries ago in its career of improvement, still resting upon its plan of imagined perfection, occupied only in supporting the sameness of its existence, and surveying with indifference the superior elevation of foreign knowledge. In every country where despotism is established, every art and every useful institution date from a period antecedent to its introduction. To the inherent quality of despotism itself, and not to any natural incapacity, we are to attribute all that is incoherent and grotesque in Turkish knowledge. The Roman empire groaned under the same evils, and sank to the same debility. Enlightened and virtuous despotism may procure a transient felicity: but, at the same time that the Roman historians were celebrating the blessings of Trajan's government, 'the splendour of the cities, the beautiful face of the country, cultivated and adorned like an immense garden,'—the latent cause of decay and corruption, the uniform government of the Romans, was gradually reducing the minds of men to the same level, extinguishing the fire of genius, and causing even the military spirit to evaporate. In Turkey, even the most worthy members of society perform their duty coldly and officially. All tremble at the public censure, and dare not aspire to innovation or reform, lest they should expose themselves to the shafts of envy and calumny. Under despotism, talents must remain insulated: the very nature of the government militates against the idea of an aggregation of knowledge, or a national fund of acquirements."*

This is not all. A despotism is more noxious in

* Thornton's Turkey, vol. i. pp. 99—101.

Digitized by Google

its decrepitude, than when invested with the vigour and terrors of youth; for the vice of avarice then takes the place of the lust of power, and a system of venality and corruption, more debasing to the morals, and ultimately more ruinous to the community, than the most absolute favouritism and arbitrary power, is substituted for the simplicity of despotism. The Turkish pasha, like the Roman proconsul, is obliged to satisfy the rapacity of the officers in the capital; and he can maintain his station, and provide against the contingencies of removal and disgrace, only by plundering his district. In Turkey, the greatest of crimes in a subject is wealth: in a pasha or governor, the only inexpiable offence is that of not testifying his loyalty to his sovereign, and his devotion to the divan, by payments sufficiently large and *douceurs* equally liberal. Thus, to rob those below him, that he may bribe those above him, is the constant aim and sole object of each petty tyrant through all the gradations of this baleful despotism.*

Such is the history of the power, and such the

* The causes to which the feebleness and decline of this once mighty empire are attributable, are thus correctly summed up by Mr. Walpole, in a preliminary discourse prefixed to his "Memoirs relating to Turkey":—"The existence of a military government in the capital; the want of salutary regulations in the administration of its revenues; the interruption of the peaceful habits of industry by the numerous tribes and hordes of robbers; the difficulty of attending to all parts of this overgrown monarchy; the national and religious prejudices which continue to operate on the great body of the people; the weakness displayed by the Porte towards the different pashas who defy its power; the indolence, ease, and effeminacy which, according to the Turks themselves, have been exchanged by their countrymen for the hardier and more manly qualities of their ancestors; and lastly, the indifference to science and art, and the little intercourse maintained by them with the civilized states of Europe."

Digitized by Google

nature of the political system, founded on the ruins of the Roman empire, which have converted the finest and most favoured countries in the world into savage wastes and uninhabitable deserts,—which have inflicted depopulation and sterility on lands once smiling with plenty and industry, and beneath which the last remains of the Greek people are struggling for existence in the sight of Christian Europe. But the crisis of its own fate cannot be much longer delayed; and Constantinople is probably destined, at no very distant period, to be the grave of a second empire, in which the ashes of the last Othman shall mingle with those of the last Constantine.

Without further introduction, we shall commence our topographical account of the country, by a description of its picturesque and singularly situated metropolis.

CONSTANTINOPLE.

ALMOST every modern traveller who has visited Constantinople begins by referring to the more copious descriptions given of the city by his predecessors.*

* "Without speaking of Bellonius, Gillius, Petro Della valle, Mons. Tavernier," says Wheler, "we have enough of our own countrymen, whose pains to this place and the whole Turkish empire, merit thanks of all impartial and ingenious men; as Mr. Sandys, many years since, Mr. Rycaut, and lastly, Mr. Smith, B.D. and Fellow of Magdalen College, in Oxford, whom, especially as to the topographical account of this city, I look upon to be the most exact of any." "A comparison of Kauffer's map with Banduri's chart of Constantinople divided into regions, as it existed at the time of the Greek emperors, with every remarkable object distinctly noticed, renders it," says Mr. Hobhouse, "superfluous for any traveller at this day to dwell upon the comparative topography of the ancient and modern city. By far the greater part of the antiquities which were seen by Gyllius, have disappeared; but the

Digitized by Google

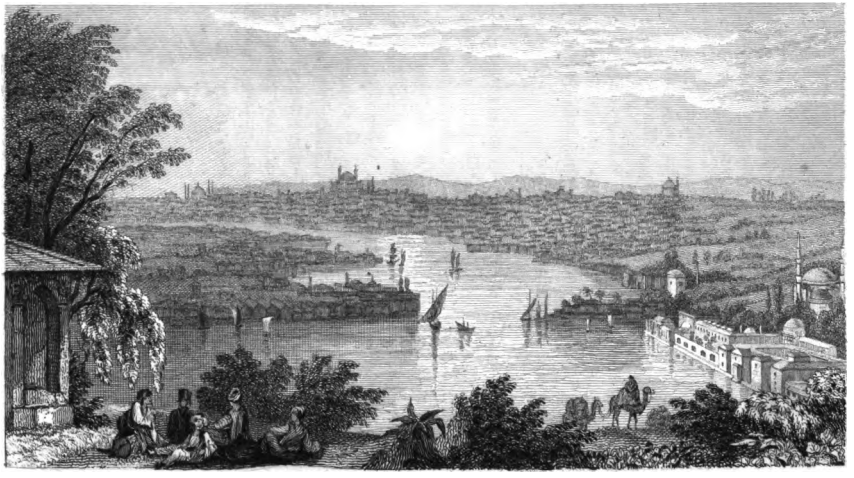
No foreigner is now allowed to reside in the city itself, not even the minister of a friendly nation; and the "water of the Golden Horn," which flows between the city and the suburbs, is a line of separation seldom transgressed by the Frank residents. The following is Sir George Wheler's description of its situation and appearance, who visited Turkey in 1675:

"Constantinople (now vulgarly called Stamboul by the Turks, but by the Greeks more often Istampoli *) is situate on a Chersonesus which hath the Propontis south, the Bosphorus east, the harbour called by Strabo Κερας Βυζαντιων (now Perami) north, and is joined to the continent of Thrace westwards. It is distant from the Asian shore about a league over the Bosphorus, and from Galata on the northern side of the harbour, about a mile. It is of a triangular figure, two of whose sides (to wit, towards the Bosphorus and the harbour) are as two segments of a circle, bending much inwards to each other. The first, beginning from the promontory now called San

regular division of the ground-plan of the city enables us to discover their respective sites; and it is most probable that an attentive scrutiny would discover many ancient monuments enclosed within the palaces and gardens of the incurious Turks. The mechanical labours of the engineer above-mentioned deserve a better and more copious illustration than the work of M. Le Chevalier, which, though incomparably the best on the subject, might easily be surpassed by any person able to consult the requisite authorities on the spot; an advantage possessed by no passing traveller."—*Letters*, vol. ii, p. 941.

* Stamboul is supposed to be corrupted, either from the proper name of the city, shortened into Stanpoli, or from the words εις την πολιν (to the city), pronounced Stinpoli. "I think theirs a groundless fancy," says Wheler, "who fetch it from the Turkish word *Istamboal*, which signifies a city full of, or abounding in the true faith."

Digitized by Google



Engd on Steel

by H. Adlard.

. CONSTANTINOPLE .

Published by J. Duncan, 37 Paternoster Row, Dec.r 1826

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

Demetrio, whereon Byzantium was anciently built, but now the Grand Signior's seraglio, and running thence south-eastwards to the Seven Towers, is counted about five or six miles. That towards the harbour is about three miles, and the other, joining to the continent, about four miles. So that it is about thirteen miles in circumference, although they commonly count it fifteen.* The walls on the two sides towards the Bosphorus and the harbour, are built so small a distance from the water that, in many places, there is not room to pass between the square towers that jet out of it at equal distances and the sea. They are high, but look very ruinous, and in all likelihood have been very little if at all repaired since the time of the Greek emperors; of whom we found several inscriptions set on high on the towers and many places in the walls. They are built of rough stone, and here and there patched up with brick, being single towards the sea, but some part towards the land, double. There are about five-and-twenty gates; seven

* "M. Thevenot," says Tournefort, "will have Constantinople to be not so big as Paris, and but ten or twelve miles about; M. Spon allows it fifteen. For my part, I believe its compass to be twenty-three miles; to which if you add twelve for the suburbs of Galata, Cassun-pasha, Pera, Topana, Fundukli, the circumference of this vast city will be thirty-four or thirty-five miles. I cannot hold with them who reckon Scutari among the suburbs of Constantinople, because it is parted only by the breadth of the canal; neither, on the other hand, can I come into their sentiment who cut off from Constantinople all the suburbs beyond the port, since even under the first Christian emperors, Galata was the thirteenth region of the city. The fig-tree quarter, which is the same as Galata, makes part of the city according to the Emperor Anastasius; and Justinian placed it in the new circumference. By little and little, they have joined to Galata the neighbouring towns, as, at Paris, the Fauxbourg St. Germain, the Fauxbourg St. Antoine, and others."

Digitized by Google

towards the Propontis, seven towards the land, and eleven towards the haven.

"Every way towards the sea side, the land riseth higher, until it is swelled into an indifferent high hill, which runneth in a ridge westwards, and hath seven points higher and more perspicuous than the rest crowned with very high and beautiful mosques, which give a most delightful prospect to the beholders at a distance; so that strangers are commonly swelled with extraordinary high conceits of it. But, perhaps, no place in the world deceives their expectation more than this; for the streets are narrow, dark, and steep, composed of small, low, and ill-built houses, consisting of wood, earth, or, at the best, but rough or unhewn stone. The private houses are but mean and beggarly; it is only the Grand Signior's palace, the mosques, bagnios, bazars, and khans, that make so splendid a show at a distance."

It is not difficult, Pococke says, to discern the seven hills on which the city is built. "The first takes up the whole breadth of the promontory on which the Grand Signior's seraglio is built. Five more are over the port, divided by valleys that descend from the height, which joins some of the hills, and goes nearly the whole length of the city, the Adrianople street running all along on the top of it. On the second hill is the Burnt Pillar; on the third hill is the magnificent mosque Solimanea. The valley between this and the fourth hill is broad: the aqueduct of Valentinian crowned it, of which there remain about forty arches. The east end of it is destroyed, and the water is now conveyed by channels on the ground. The mosque of Sultan Mahomet is on the fourth hill, and that of Sultan Selim on the fifth, the western walls of the

Digitized by Google

city running along the top of the sixth hill. These hills rise so one above another from the port, that they all appear from the mouth of the harbour; and most of the houses having a court or garden, in which they plant trees for the shade and the refreshing verdure, great beauty is added to the prospect. The seventh hill is divided by a vale from the height that joins the last three hills, which are to the north of it. This hill alone is computed to be a third part of the city, and is to the south of the fourth, fifth, and sixth hills; the others having the bay to the south of them; and this bay has to the south of it, the north-east point of the seventh hill, and the other three hills to the north. The pillar of Arcadius was on the seventh hill."*

A very full and lively description of the city is furnished by M. Tournefort, who travelled in the years 1700-2, by order of the King of France, and who has been pronounced by a competent critic† to be "the most useful, the most amusing, and the most accurate traveller" that ever visited the Levant.

"Constantinople, with its suburbs, is, beyond dispute, the largest city of Europe. Its situation, by

* "For my own part," says Mr. Hobhouse, "I could not, upon repeated trials, distinguish the seven eminences, although assisted by a plan which divided the town into seven quarters, with a relation to the same number of hills. Gyllius, however, in his topographical description, not only distinguished the seven hills, but averred that six of them were discernible to those sailing through the port, rising, like brothers and in regular succession, from the back of the same promontory." Yet, Gibbon pronounces Pococke's plan of the seven hills clear and accurate, and unusually satisfactory. Mr. Hobhouse took his survey of the city from the summit of the tower of Galata; but he ought at least to have discerned the hills from the harbour.

† The Hon. F. S. N. Douglas.

Digitized by Google

consent of all travellers, and even the ancient historians, is the most agreeable and the most advantageous of the whole universe. It seems as if the Canal of the Dardanelles, and that of the Black Sea, were made on purpose to bring it the riches of the four quarters of the world: those of the Mogul, the Indies, the remotest North, China, and Japan, come by the way of the Black Sea; and by the Canal of the White Sea come the merchandises of Arabia, Egypt, Ethiopia, the coast of Africa, the West Indies, and whatever Europe produces. These two canals are as the doors of Constantinople; the North and South, which are the ordinary winds there, are, as it were, the two leaves of the door: when the north wind blows, the south door is shut, that is, nothing can come in from the southern coast; this door opens when the south wind reigns. If you will not allow these winds to be called the doors of Constantinople, you must agree them to be its keys at least.

"The walls of Constantinople are very good: those of the land side have a double range twenty feet from each other, and defended by a flat-bottomed ditch some twenty-five feet broad. The outer wall, which is about two toises high, is defended by 250 low towers: the inner wall is above twenty feet high, and its towers, which answer to those of the outer, are well-proportioned. The battlements, the courtines, the port-holes are well contrived, but we saw no artillery: freestone is what it mostly consists of. I think we counted five gates on this side. It might be easily fortified, for the situation is naturally sloping, very far from commanding the city."

"There are seven gates from the Point of the Seraglio to the seven towers; five land-ward, and eleven on the port: but whichever gate you go in at,

Digitized by Google

you mount an ascent. Constantine, who designed to make Constantinople like Rome, could not have found a better spot for eminences. It is a very tiresome city for foot-travellers: persons of note go on horseback. Before we enter the town, we must once more admire the outside. Nothing upon earth can be more delightful, than with one glance of the eye to discover all the houses of the biggest city in Europe, whose roofings, terraces, balconies, and gardens form a variety of amphitheatres, set off with *bexestains* (places like our changes, for selling wares), *caravan-serais* (house of hospitality), seraglios, and especially mosques or churches, which far outshow ours in France. These mosques, though hideous for their bulk, yet in appearance have nothing about them but what is beautiful, the defects and oddness of the Turkish architecture not being discernible so far off. On the contrary, their principal domes, accompanied with other little domes, both covered with lead or gilding; their steeples, if I may use that word for towers very slender and extremely high, with the crescent at top; altogether yield a charming spectacle to one that stands at the entrance of the canal of the Black Sea. Nay, this canal itself strikes you with admiration; for Fanari-kiosk, Chalcedon, Scutari, and the adjoining country, have an agreeable effect upon the eye, when, no longer able to bear the lustre of Constantinople, you turn your face to the right.

"I must however confess, that the objects we had seen from our ship, appeared quite different, on comparing them with those which presented themselves to us when we went ashore. I know not whether it was the onions they sell at the corner of every street, that awakened in us the idea of those famous temples in Egypt, whose outside dazzled the beholder's eye; but

Digitized by Google

I could not help comparing Constantinople with these stately edifices, wherein were nothing but crocodiles, rats, leeks, onions, which those idolaters regarded as so many deities. The houses of Galata, where we landed, are low, built mostly of wood and mud, so that a fire consumes thousands of them in a day; a disaster which frequently befals them, either from the Turks smoking in bed, or else done on purpose by the soldiers for the sake of pilfering. It would be no great damage if nothing but the house was destroyed, for they cost but a trifle to build again, and there is wood enough on the coasts of the Black Sea, to rebuild Constantinople once a year, if occasion were; but a world of families are utterly undone by the burning of their merchandises. It is a small matter when they speak but of 2000 or 3000 houses burnt. A man has often the mortification to see his house pulled down and pillaged, though the fire be 200 paces off. Especially when the north-east, which the Turks call the black wind, is in its fury, they have found no other remedy to prevent the whole town from being devoured, but only to blow up a great many houses, otherwise the conflagration would become general. The foreign merchants have of late years wisely bethought themselves to build at Galata very substantial warehouses of freestone, standing single, and having no more windows than are barely necessary; the shutters whereof, as well as the doors, are covered with iron plates.

"The streets of Constantinople are very ill paved, some not at all: the only street that is practicable, is that which goes from the Seraglio to the gate of Adrianople; the rest are close, dark, deep, and look like so many cut-throat lanes. And yet, you frequently meet with good buildings, bagnios, bazars, and some houses of great men, built with lime and sand, and angled

Digitized by Google

with freestone, the apartments running very cleverly into one another.

" The first walk a stranger usually takes in Constantinople is to the royal mosques, of which there are seven so called. These edifices, which are very handsome in their kind, are completely finished, and kept in perfect good condition; whereas in France, we have scarcely such a thing as a finished church: if the nave is admired for its largeness and the beauty of its arch-work, the choir is imperfect; if these two parts are complete, the frontispiece is not begun. Most of our churches, especially in Paris, are hedged in with profane buildings and tradesmen's shops; to make advantage of every the least spot of ground, the church is often so choked up with houses, there is no avenue, no vacancy left; whereas the mosques of Constantinople stand single, within a spacious inclosure, planted with fine trees, adorned with delicate fountains. They suffer not a dog to enter; no one presumes to hold discourse there, or do the least irreverent action: they are well endowed, and far exceed ours in riches. Though their architecture is inferior to ours, yet they fail not to make an impression on the beholder by their largeness and solidity. In all parts of the Levant, the domes are well executed: those of the mosques are of an exact proportion, and accompanied with other smaller domes, which make them appear full and comely to the eye It is not so with their minarets, which are spires as high as any of our belfries, and as small about as a nine-pin, in a manner. These minarets are a great ornament to the mosques, and to the whole town: however, though we have no work of that boldness among us, our eyes are formed to our belfries, and our ears to the sound of our bells, which are more harmonious than the singings of the Muezins;

Digitized by Google

ge they term those who call the people to prayers, in a singing tone, from the top of the minarets.

" St. Sophia is the most perfect of all these mosques. Its situation is advantageous, for it stands in one of the beats and finest parts of Constantinople, at the top of the ancient Byzantium, and of an eminence that descends gradually down to the sea by the Point of the Seraglio. This church, which is certainly the finest structure in the world next to St. Peter's at Rome, looks to be very unwieldy without. The plan is almost square, and the dome, which is the only thing worth remarking, rests outwardly on four prodigious large towers, which have been added of late years to support this vast building, and make it immoveable, in a country where whole cities are often overthrown by earthquakes.

" The frontispiece has nothing grand, nor answerable to the idea men have of St. Sophia. You first enter in at a portico about six toises (fathom) broad, which in the time of the Greek emperors served for a vestibulum. This portico communicates with the church by nine marble folding-doors, the leaves whereof, which are brass adorned with basso-relievos, are extremely magnificent: on the middlemost of them you see some figures of mosaic work, nay, some paintings too. The vestibulum is joined to another, which is parallel to it, but has no more than five brasen doors without bas-reliefs; the leaves were charged with crosses, but the Turks have only left the upright post of these crosses, and have taken away the cross-beam of them. You do not enter front-wise into these two vestibulums, but only at doors opened on the sides; and according to the rules of the Greek church, these vestibulums were necessary for the placing of those that were distinguished either for

Digitized by Google

being about to receive the sacraments, or undergo public penance. Parallel to these vestibulums, the Turks have built a great cloister, for lodging the officers of the mosque.

"A dome of an admirable structure holds the place of a nave: at the foot of this dome runs a colonnade, which bears a gallery five toises broad, the arch-work whereof is exquisite. In the interspaces of the columns, the parapet is adorned with crosses in bas-relief: these the Turks have used very ill. By some it is called Constantine's gallery; it was formerly set apart for the women. At the roof, and on the cornice of the dome, runs a small gallery, or rather a balustrade, no broader than just for one person to pass at a time; and above this there is also another. These balustrades make a marvellous figure in time of their *ramezan*, when they are all adorned with lamps. The columns of this dome have scarcely any swelling, and their chapiters looked to be of a singular order. The dome is eighteen toises from wall to wall, and rests upon four huge pillars, about eight toises thick: the arch seems a perfect demi-sphere, illuminated with twenty-four windows, disposed in a circumference.

"From the east part of this dome, you pass straight on to the demi-dome, which terminates the edifice. This dome, or shell, was the sanctuary of the Christians, and the great altar was placed there. Mahomet II., having conquered this city, went and sat here with his legs crossed under him after the manner of the Turks: after saying his prayers, he caused himself to be shaved, and then fastened to one of the pillars, where was the patriarch's throne, a fine piece of embroidered stuff, with Arabic characters on it, which had served as a screen in the mosque of Mecca. Such

Digitized by Google

was the consecration of St. Sophia! There is at present in this sanctuary, nothing but the niche where they keep the Alcoran: it looks towards Mecca, and the mussulmans always turn that way when they say their prayers. The mufti's chair is hard by: it is raised on several steps, and on the side of it is a kind of pulpit, for the officers to repeat certain prayers.

"This mosque, built like a Greek cross, is in the clear 42 toises long, 38 broad; the dome takes up almost all this square. They assured me, there were no fewer then 107 columns of different marble, of porphyry, or Egyptian granite; we had not time to count them ourselves. The whole dome is lined or paved with varieties of marble: the incrustations of the gallery are mosaic, mostly done with cubes or dice of glass, which are loosened every day from their cement, but their colour is unalterable. These glass dice are real doublets, for the variegated leaf is covered with a piece of glass very thin, and glued on, so that nothing but hot boiling water can make it scale off. If ever mosaics should come again in fashion among us, we could easily do the like. Though the application of these two pieces of glass, containing the coloured plate, be trifling, yet it proves the invention of doublets not to be new. The Turks have destroyed the nose and eyes of some figures, as well as the faces of four cherubims placed in the angles of the dome. *

* "There are in it," says Pococke, in his clumsy style, "eight porphyry pillars, and as many of *verd-antique*, which, I believe, for their size, are not to be exceeded in the world. The dome being supported by four large piers, between them are four *verd-antique* pillars on each side; and a semicircle being formed as at each corner by these and four more piers, there are two porphyry pillars in each of them, and it appears plainly that there was a third; for there is an arch filled up next to each pier, which was doubtless done in order to strengthen those piers, the building having visibly

Digitized by Google

"This church is not the first that in Constantinople bore the name of St. Sophia. Constantine the Great was the first that consecrated a chapel there to the Wisdom of the Uncreated Word; but whether that

given way at the south-west corner, where the pillars of the gallery hang over very much. Two of the porphyry pillars in the portico of Solimanea might be taken from this mosque; and probably the other two might be found, if all the mosques and the seraglios were examined. These pillars are about two feet and a half in diameter, and of a proportionable height: there are pillars of verd-antique in the galleries over them. Eight large porphyry pillars in St. Sophia are mentioned as taken out of a temple of the Sun built by Valerian, and sent by Marsia, a Roman widow, to the Emperor Justinian; so that if the others were of porphyry, they must have been taken from some other place. There are two porticoes to the church: the inner one is lined with fine marbles. The mosque strikes the eye at the first entrance, the dome being very large; but a great beauty is lost, as the mosaic is all destroyed, excepting a very little at the east end; so that all the top is whited over; but the sides are wainscoted with porphyry, verd-antique, and other rare oriental marbles. It is hung with a great number of glass lamps, and the pavement is spread with the richest carpets, where the *sophis* are always studying and repeating the Koran; and the doctors are preaching and explaining it, in particular parts of the mosque, to their separate auditories. The top is covered with lead, and there is a gallery round on the outside of the cupola. This mosque makes a much meaner and heavier appearance on the outside, than the mosques that are built in imitation of it. On the south side of it, the Grand Signior has erected a very small but neat library, which seemed to be about twenty feet wide and thirty long; there are presses round it, and two in the middle for the manuscripts. The windows open to a court, round which the mausoleums of three sultans are finely built of marble; and in one of the windows of the library, there is a sofa for the Grand Signior, when he is pleased to come and hear the law read in this place."

Mr. Hobhouse thus speaks of this far-famed edifice:—"I know of no monument of antiquity which has excited so much curiosity, both amongst the learned and the unlearned, as St. Sophia. For its dimensions and integrity, it may be thought incomparably more curious than any other relic of former ages; but, in every other respect, it must disappoint any sanguine expectation. Its external appearance is that of a vast building, whose ill-assorted construction requires a

Digitized by Google

building was too small, or whether it was some time after destroyed by an earthquake, Constantius his son caused a larger church to be built instead of the former. The sanctuary and the greatest part of this

proportionate heaviness of mass to preserve it standing and entire. The weighty buttresses, and the attached compartments of the temple, falling in a succession of pent-houses, from the spring of the arch to within a few feet of the ground, nearly conceal, and totally ruin any effect which might otherwise be produced by the height and expanse of its far-famed dome. The interior, to which you descend by five steps, seems at first sight magnificently spacious, and not broken with the aisles and choirs, nor deformed by the railings and tombs of modern churches; but your admiration diminishes as you proceed with your inspection. The beauty of the variegated marble floor is concealed by a covering of mats; and the dome, as well as the body of the building, is spoiled by a thousand little cords depending from the summit within four feet of the pavement, and having at the end of them lamps of coloured glass, large ostrich-eggs, artificial horse-tails, vases and globes of crystal, and other mean ornaments. The columns appear too large for the arches which they support, and the carving of their capitals can scarcely be more painful to the eyes of an architect, than to those of a common observer. Grelot knew not to what order they belonged, or by what name to describe their style, unless he called it a sort of Gothicised Greek. From a change in the arrangement of the sanctuary, the line of the nave does not seem at right angles with the large circular recess, called in former times *Cyclion*, in which the Christian altar was placed; for the marble pulpit of the Imaum, with its attached flight of steps, projects from the left side of it, and the mats, together with a descent of two steps, being so arranged as to give another direction to the cord of the arc, the whole of one wing, and the grand diameter of the base, have an appearance of distortion. The alteration has been caused by the desire of the Mahometans to point the centre of the sanctuary directly towards Mecca, which being formerly due east, is, by the above contrivance, drawn a little to the southward of that quarter. At this new centre is a niche, with a large chandelier on each side, called the Mirabe or Maharabe, which is the repository of the Koran. The upper part of the walls is defaced by miserable little squares of red, white, and blue paint. The great eight-winged seraphims are fading fast away. The tesselated mosaic with which the concave above the windows and the dome are encrusted, and specimens of which, taken from the ceiling of an adjoining oratory

Digitized by Google

church were ruined in the reign of Arcadius, when a tumult was stirred up against St. John Chrysostom, patriarch of Constantinople; nay, his party is said to have set it on fire. It was again burnt under Honorius, and re-established by young Theodosius; but in the fifth year of Justinian, St. Sophia escaped not the general burning, in that insurrection wherein Hypatius was made emperor in his own despite. Justinian, having quelled the sedition, and punished those that raised it, caused the same year to be built the stately edifice still existing. M. du Cange proves, that it was finished in five years, and not in seventeen, as some

are sold to strangers, is not visible to those standing in the body of the mosck. It is composed of very minute squares, formed of some vitreous substance gilded and tinged with paint. The upper part of the walls is heavy and dark, and the *heaven-suspended vault* scarcely rises into an arch, but shews, indeed, an inward depression from the summit towards the centre of the cupola. With a diameter of one hundred and fifteen feet, (fifteen feet more than that of St. Paul's church,) it is only eighteen in depth, and not more than one hundred and eighty from the pavement. The closing of the arcades of the upper Gynaikonition, or female gallery, where there is now only a railed ledge large enough to enable the servants of the mosck to walk round and light the lamps, has contributed to the heavy darkness of the dome. My general impression was, that the skill of the one hundred architects, and the labour of the ten thousand workmen, the wealth of an empire, and the ingenuity of presiding angels, had raised a stupendous monument of the heavy mediocrity which distinguished the productions of the sixth century from the perfect specimens of a happier age. The general style of its ornaments shewed that it was calculated for nocturnal illuminations. All was gilt and gaudy colouring; and the Emperor would have inlaid the pavement with solid gold, if his astrologers had not warned him that the building would be dilapidated by his needy successors. It must indeed have a brilliant appearance, when lighted by its myriads of lamps, and its vaults may *glitter like the firmament*; but this is the excellence of a theatre, rather than of a temple, and may be found where the skill of the architect and sculptor is required in vain."

Digitized by Google

Greek authors have written. The Emperor was so highly pleased, he burst into an exclamation, 'I have outdone thee, O Solomon!' But in the 32nd year of Justinian, an earthquake threw down the demi-dome, and the altar was crushed in its fall: it was re-edified, and the church consecrated a-new. Zonaras observes, that Justinian did great injury to polite literature, in applying to this building the stipends that were usually given the professors in every town all over the empire. Rather than not gratify his itch for building, he melted down the silver statue of Theodosius, which Arcadius had erected, and which weighed 7400 pounds. To cover the dome of St. Sophia, Justinian employed the leaden pipes, which served to carry most of the water for the use of the city. The chief architects that were concerned in this famous church, were Anthemius of Tralles, and Isidorus of Miletus. The first was esteemed the greatest mechanist of his time: he was, some think, no stranger to the art of making gunpowder; for Agathias avers, that he would exactly mimic thunder, lightning, and earthquakes. The Emperor Basil the Macedonian caused the western demi-dome to be strengthened. Lastly, this church was so damaged by another earthquake under the empress Anne and John Paleologus her son, that it required much expense of time and treasure to repair; for which reason, the marriage of the Emperor with Helen, daughter of Cantacuzenus, was solemnized in the church of Blaquernes, dedicated to the Holy Virgin. Mahomet II. was so pleased with St. Sophia, that he caused it to be repaired, and the Turks have ever since kept it with the utmost care.

"After visiting St. Sophia, we were carried thirty or forty paces off, to be shewn the mausoleums of

Digitized by Google

certain Ottoman princes: they are four small low buildings, with domes covered over with lead, supported by columns hexagonally plated. The balustrades are of wood, and the coffins are covered with plain cloth. The emperors are distinguished from their wives only by their turbant, which is on a pillar at the head of the coffin, and this coffin is somewhat bigger, as well as the torches that burn at each end. There is no torch to that of Sultan Mourat's brother, though there are to every one of the Grand Signior's wives. They pointed us to some handkerchiefs like cravats round the necks of certain figures, in number 120, being representations of that Emperor's children, which were all strangled in a day by his successor's order. They have not been sparing of marble in these mausoleums, which are constantly illuminated night and day, not only with the torches about the coffins, but many others: they have also chained thereto several copies of the alcoran, to be perused by such as resort thither to pray. Besides those who come out of devotion, there are here, as also in the other mausoleums, a company of poor alms-people, who have a foundation hard by: these wear wooden chaplets, the beads whereof are about the size of a musket-ball. I have forgotten the names of the other Sultans who are in these mausoleums: I think they mentioned to us Sultan Selim and Sultan Mustafa.

"Hard by is seen an old tower, said to have served as a church to the Christians; they keep in it several wild beasts; such as lions, leopards, tigers, lynxes, jackals: these last are between a fox and a wolf, and in the night make a crying like children.

"The other Royal Mosques of Constantinople may be reckoned so many copies of St. Sophia, more or less

Digitized by Google

resembling this original. They are domes of a goodly appearance, accompanied with many other smaller domes. The building always stands by itself in an inclosure planted with trees, adorned with fountains, oratories to pray in, and all other conveniences necessary to the exercise of the Mahometan religion. As for the minarets, that is, those slender spires beforementioned, there is no royal mosque without two at least some have four, nay, six of them.

"At the ancient Hippodrome, (or running-place for horses,) now called Atmeidan, is a mosque, each minaret of which has three stone galleries. Before you enter this mosque, you go through a peristyle, which is a sort of cloister arched over, and covered with little domes, and supported by columns. The pavement is of a very beautiful marble, as also an hexagonal fountain which is in the middle, covered likewise with a dome formed by grates of gilded iron. This mosque, and the other royal mausoleums which the Mussulmen have built, are lighted with a great many more lamps than St. Sophia; and among the lamps of the new mosque are placed crystal balls, branched candlesticks, ostrich eggs, and such like pieces, to please the eye. They shewed us a globe of glass, wherein was represented in bas-relief, with wonderful patience, the plan of the mosque. The turbè, or mausoleum of Sultan Achmet, is behind this mosque, northward.

"Of all the mosques in Constantinople, there is none comes near to St. Sophia in the beauty of its dome, but the Solymania, founded by Solyman II. the most magnificent of all the Sultans. Nay, its outside outdoes St. Sophia: its windows are larger and better disposed, its galleries more regular and stately. The whole is built of the finest stones that could be

Digitized by Google

found among the ruins of Chalcedon.* The indispensable necessity the Musslumen are under of making their ablutions, obliges them to build large cloisters near the royal mosques: the fountain is always placed in the middle, and the washing-places round about.

"The mausoleum of its founder, and that of the Sultana his wife, are behind the mosque under very rich domes. Solyman's coffin is covered with a fine piece of embroidery, representing the town of Mecca, from whence it was brought. At the head of that Prince's coffin are two heron's feathers beset with precious stones. Here are constantly burning seven huge tapers, and a great many lamps; copies of the Alcoran are chained up and down in divers places, and persons are in pay to read them. The Turks think the dead are relieved by prayers.

"The Validea, so called from Valide its foundress, wife of Ibrahim, and mother of Mahomet IV., is another fine edifice placed on the port near the Seraglio. The inside is lined with fine Dutch ware, but its colonnade is of marble, with chapiters after the Turkish way: most of the columns were fetched from the ruins

* "That of Sultan Solyman is an exact square, with four fine towers in the angles; in the midst is a noble cupola, supported with beautiful marble pillars, and two lesser at the ends, supported in the same manner; the pavement and gallery round the mosque, of marble. Under the great cupola is a fountain, adorned with such fine coloured pillars, that I can hardly think them natural marble. On one side is the pulpit, of white marble, and on the other, the little gallery for the Grand Signior: a fine staircase leads to it, and it is built up with gilded lattices. The pavement is spread with fine carpets, and the mosque is illuminated with a vast number of lamps. The court leading to it is very spacious, with galleries of marble of green columns, covered with twenty-eight leaded cupolas, on two sides, and a fine fountain in the midst."—Lady M. W. MONTAGU'S *Letters*.

Digitized by Google

of Troy. Its lamps, branched candlesticks, ivory balls, crystal globes are very ornamental. The whole work seems to be more delicate than the other mosques, and has nothing Gothic, though much in the Turkish taste. The arches over the doors and windows are well designed; its two minarets have each three handsome galleries. It is surprising that the Turks, who do not often raise such fabrics, should find architects skilful enough to build them.

"The situation of this mosque, which is full in sight of the Seraglio, and in the most frequented part of the town, makes it to be preferred before all others on public rejoicing-days. They do not content themselves with crowding with lamps the galleries of its minarets, but throw several cords at different heights between one spire and another: these cords not only support the name and cipher of the Grand Signior, represented by small burning lamps, but likewise the representation of towns, and the principal victories that give occasion to the festival.

"In these illuminations everything glitters; the very crescents are in a blaze. Were the ancient Byzantines to return to life, they would doubtless be astonished at the prodigious dimensions of their city, which at this day extends to the furthermost part of the haven, whereas in their time it took up only the southern entrance; but they would not be surprised to see the crescent, it being the symbol of Byzantium. We are told the reason of it by Stephens the Geographer, a native of this city. Philip of Macedon, father of Alexander the Great, meeting with mighty difficulties in carrying on the siege of Byzantium, took the opportunity of a very dark night to set workmen to undermine the walls, so as to make a breach for his troops to enter the place, without being

Digitized by Google

perceived by the enemy; but, luckily for the besieged, the moon appearing, gave them light into the design, and made it miscarry. The inhabitants in acknowledgement, erected a statue to Hecate on the port; and this place, which before was called Bosphorus, on account of an ox's swimming it over to Asia on a certain time, went afterwards by the name of Phosphorus, on occasion of Diana *the light-bringer*. It is likely, that the church of St. Photina of Topana was built upon the foundation of some temple of the same Diana. Tristanus has published the type of a beautiful medal of Trajan, on the reverse whereof is a crescent surmounted by a star; and in the legend it is notified, that the town was saved by favour of that crescent, or by the help of Diana, whose symbol it was. There are several medals of the same type in the King's Cabinet, in the name of the Byzantines, with the heads of Diana, Trajan, Julia Domna, wife of Severus. The Turks have only adopted the crescent, which they met with up and down among the ancient buildings of the city.

"The other royal mosques are not so considerable as those already mentioned; they are called by their founders' names, Sultan Bajazet, Sultan Selim, Sultan Mahomet. The mosque of Ejoup is not counted a royal building, though built by Mahomet II., who caused the whole city to be repaired, and founded many colleges. This mosque consists of but one dome, famous for nothing but the ceremony of crowning the new Sultan. The ceremony is not long: they have nothing to do with crowns or other royal ornaments. The Emperor ascends a kind of rostrum of marble, and the mufti girds a sabre to his side, as an emblem of his being Lord of the whole Earth; for, at this court, all the other kings are called Sultanons,

Digitized by Google

except the King of France, to whom they give the name of Padishah, that is, Emperor. The mosque of Ejoup is at the efflux of the fresh waters; this same Ejoup is esteemed by the Turks as a great prophet, as well as captain. They do not, however, deny that he was worsted before Constantinople, and that he was killed there at the head of an army of Saracens, whom he commanded. His sepulchre is not less resorted to than those of the Sultans; there is a continual praying at it, which sort of praying is what a great many people in Turkey get a handsome livelihood by.

"From Ejoup's mosque, we went to see an old ruined edifice, called the palace of Constantine; but it has nothing considerable: it is a ruinous decayed thing, about 400 paces from the walls of the city. There are left two columns, that bore up a balcony over the gate; the whole looks like some gallery, to which they ascended by a marble staircase, some of the steps yet remaining. It is perhaps the residue of some house built by Constantine Porphyrogenetus, * for the palace of Constantine the Great was in the first region of the town, where now the Seraglio stands. Zozimus assures us, that there was no finer in all Rome; Codinus calls it the palace of the Hippodrome.

"We afterwards crossed the quarter of Balat, to go down to the port, which is one of the wonders of the city. The Greek Emperors used heretofore to take the diversion of hunting at Balat, which is therefore called in vulgar Greek, the Park or the Hunter. Here is nothing but the patriarchal church,

* "What they call the Palace of Constantine, close to which the walls are built on the sixth hill, seems to have been only one room, with the roof supported by pillars; though now it is divided and made into stories; it does not seem to be of great antiquity, and is probably a *Genoese* building, as there are coats of arms over the windows."—Pococke.

Digitized by Google

that can engage a stranger's attention, and that more for its name than beauty; it is about 200 paces from the port. The Greeks must not dare to bestow any cost on this church, even though they were ever so rich; for the Turks would not fail to lay hands on whatever money should be offered to be applied that way.

"The port of Constantinople can never be too much admired. We went round it in a boat, in very serene weather. These boats are small gondolas, exceedingly light, and marvellously neat and pretty; they are in such numbers, they cover the whole haven, especially the passage to Galata. The ancients never put a better thing into the oracle's mouth, than when they made him give this answer to some who consulted him about building a town hereabouts: '*Let it be*,' said the oracle, '*over against the country of blind men*.' For the port of Chalcedon, which is on the opposite shore, is so odd a place, that they may well be called blind, that first pitched on it. The haven of Constantinople is a basin seven or eight miles in circuit towards the city, and as much on the suburb side: its entrance, about 600 paces broad, begins at the point of the Seraglio, or the cape of St. Demetrius, situated in the south: it is the Cape of Bosphorus, where stood the ancient town of Byzantium. Thence to the west, the port extends like a crooked horn, which may more justly be compared to that of an ox than a stag, as Strabo has it, for the coast has no in and out turnings like divisions: it is true, M. Gilles observes, there have been many alterations that have destroyed its ancient form. This port opens to the east, and faces Scutari; Galata and Cassun-pasha are to the north; lastly, it terminates to the N.N.W., where the river Lycus empties itself. This river is

Digitized by Google

made up of two streams: the biggest, on which is the paper-mill, comes from Belgrade; the other flows from the N.W. The Lycus is not everywhere navigable, and therefore there are stakes to point out the surest places. The stream that comes from the N.W., is not practicable for boats further than the village of Hali-bey-cui. The other is deep enough for about four miles. To go from Pera to Adrianople, you cross these two streams over bridges. Apollonius Thyaneus performed a world of magic ceremonies on these waters. They are of wondrous use to cleanse the haven; for, descending from the N.W., they wash the coast of Cassun-pasha and Galata, while part of the waters of the Canal of the Black Sea, which descend from the N. like a torrent, as Dion Cassius observes, dash violently against the cape of the Bosphorus, and recoil to the right towards the west: by this motion they sweep away the mud that might gather about Constantinople, and by piece of natural mechanism shove it on by degrees as far as the fresh waters. These fresh waters help to preserve the shipping; for experience shews, that they are less subject to be worm-eaten in such ports where there is fresh water, than where there is salt: the fish too take greater delight in such waters, and are better tasted. The port of Constantinople abounds with tunny-fish, called Pelamides by the ancients: we see them frequently represented on the medals of Byzantium, with the heads of the Emperors Caligula, Claudius, Caracalla, Geta, Gordianus, Pius, Gallienus, and the Empresses Sabina, Lucillia, Crispina, Julia Mœsa, and Julia Mamœa. Pliny says, that under the water towards Chalcedon, there were white rocks that scared the tunnies, and forced them into the port of Byzantium. Dolphins too sometimes appear

Digitized by Google

there in such numbers, the port swarms with them: they are often fished for; their teeth are like a saw. But Pliny was mistaken in the story of the white rock above-mentioned, for the tunny-fish go as far as Chalcedon, where there are caught great numbers of them.

"The Seraglio, (the workmanship of Mahomet II.) is nearly three miles about: it is a kind of triangle, whose side next the city is the biggest; that next the Bosphorus is at the east; and the other, that forms the entrance of the port, is in the north. The apartments are on the top of the hill, and the gardens below, stretching to the sea. The walls of the city, flanked with their towers, joining themselves to the Point of St. Demetrius, make the circumference of this palace towards the sea. As great as the compass of it is, the outside of the palace has nothing curious to boast of; and if one may judge of the beauty of its gardens by the cypress-trees which are discernible in them, they do not much exceed those of private men. That the inhabitants of Galata and other places in that neighbourhood, may not see the Sultanas walking in these gardens, they are planted with trees that are always green.

"Though I saw only the outside of the Seraglio,* I am persuaded that its inside can shew nothing of what we call stately and noble; because the Turks have hardly any notion of magnificence, and follow no one rule of good architecture. If they have made fine mosques, it is because they had a fine model before their eyes,

* The most minute description of the Seraglio is given by Tavernier. See "A New Relation of the Inner Part of the Grand Seignor's Seraglio, containing several remarkable Particulars never before exposed to View. By J. B. Tavernier, Baron of Aubonne." Folio. London, 1677. The relation occupies above ninety folio pages, and is tediously diffuse, and not unexceptionable in point of delicacy.

Digitized by Google

the church of St. Sophia; a model which indeed is not to be followed in the erection of palaces. By the Turkish pavilions (a larger sort of building) a man may easily perceive he is moving from Italy, and approaching towards Persia, nay China itself.

"The apartments of the Seraglio have been made at different times, and according to the capriciousness of the Princes and Sultanas; thus is this famed palace a heap of houses clustering together without any manner of order. No doubt they are spacious, commodious, richly furnished. Their best ornaments are not pictures, nor statues, but paintings after the Turkish manner, inlaid with gold and azure, diversified with flowers, landscapes, tail-pieces (such as the printers adorn the end of a book or chapter with,) and compartments like labels, containing Arabic sentences, the same as in the private houses of Constantinople. Marble basins, bagnios, spouting fountains, are the delight of the orientals, who place them over the first floor, without fear of over-pressing the ceiling. This too was the taste of the Saracens and Moors, as appears by their ancient palaces, especially that of Alhambra, at Granada in Spain, where they still shew, as a prodigy of architecture, the pavement of the lions' quarter, made of blocks of marble bigger than the tombstones in our churches.

"If there is any thing curious in the Seraglio, it is what the ambassadors of foreign princes have brought thither; such as French and Venice glass, Persian carpets, oriental vases. It is said, most of the pavilions are supported by arches, under which are lodged the officers that serve the Sultanas. These ladies dwell over-head, in apartments commonly terminated by a dome covered with lead, or by spires with gilded crescents: the balconies, the galleries, the cabinets, the belvederes, are the most agreeable places

Digitized by Google

of these apartments. In short, notwithstanding what has been said, take it altogether, it is answerable to the greatness of its master; but, to make a fine edifice of it, it must be pulled down, and the materials employed to build another on a new model.

"The principal entrance of the Seraglio is a huge pavilion, with eight openings over the gate, or *porte*. This Porte, from which the Ottoman empire took its name, is very high, simple, semicircular in its arch, with an Arabic inscription beneath the bend of the arch, and two niches, one on each side, in the wall. It looks rather like a guard-house than the entrance to a palace of one of the greatest princes of the world; and yet it was Mahomet II. built it. Fifty *capigis*, or porters, keep this gate; but they have generally no weapon but a wand or white rod. At first you enter into a large court-yard, not near so broad as long; on the right are infirmaries for the sick, on the left, lodges for the *asancoglans*, that is, persons employed in the most sordid offices of the Seraglio: here the wood is kept that serves for fuel to the palace. There is every year consumed 40,000 cart-loads, each load as much as two buffaloes can well draw.

"Anybody may enter the first court of the Seraglio. Here the domestics and slaves of the bashaws and agas wait for their masters' returning, and look after their horses; but every thing is so still, the motion of a fly might be heard in a manner; and if any one should presume to raise his voice ever so little, or shew the least want of respect to the mansion-place of their Emperor, he would instantly have the bastinado by the officers that go the rounds: nay, the very horses seem to know where they are, and no doubt they are taught to tread softer here than in the streets.

Digitized by Google

"The infirmaries are for the sick that belong to the house; they are carried thither in little close carts drawn by two men. When the court is at Constantinople, the chief physician and surgeon visit this place every day, and it is asserted they take great care of the sick. It is even said, that many who are in this place are well enough, only they get hither to refresh themselves, and drink their skin-full of wine. The use of this liquor, though severely forbidden elsewhere, is tolerated in the infirmaries, provided the eunuch at the door does not catch those that bring it, in which case the wine is spilt on the ground, and the bearers are sentenced to receive 2 or 300 bastinadoes.

"From the first court you go on to the second, the entrance whereof is also kept by fifty *capigis*. This court is square, about 300 paces in diameter, but much handsomer than the first: the pathways are paved, and the alleys well kept; the rest consists of very pretty turf, whose verdure is only interrupted by fountains, which help to preserve its freshness. The Grand Signior's treasury and the little stable are on the left: here they shew a fountain, where formerly they used to cut off the heads of bashaws condemned to die. The offices and kitchens are on the right, embellished with domes, but without chimneys: they kindle a fire in the middle, and the smoke goes out through the holes made in the domes. The first of these kitchens is for the Grand Signior, the second for the chief sultanas, the third for the other sultanas, the fourth for the *capi-aga*, or commandant of the gates; in the fifth, they dress the meat for the ministers of the divan; the sixth belongs to the Grand Signior's pages, called the *ichoglans*; the seventh to the officers of the Seraglio; the eighth is for the women and maid-servants; the ninth for all such as are obliged

Digitized by Google

to attend the court of the divan on days of session. They do not provide much wild-fowl, but, besides 40,000 beeves spent yearly there, the purveyors are to furnish daily 200 sheep, 100 lambs or goats, according to the season, 10 calves, 200 hens, 200 pair of pullets, 100 pair of pigeons, and 50 green geese.

"All round the court runs a low gallery covered with lead, and supported by columns of marble. No one but the Grand Signior himself enters this court on horseback, and therefore the little stable is in this place, but there is not room for above thirty horses: over-head they keep the harness, than which nothing can be richer in jewels and embroidery. The great stable, wherein there are about a thousand horses for the officers of the Grand Signior, is towards the sea, upon the Bosphorus. Such days as the foreign ambassadors are admitted to audience, the Janizaries in very handsome apparel range themselves on the right beneath the gallery. The hall where the divan is held, that is the justice-hall, is on the left, at the further end of this court: on the right is a door, which lets into the inside of the Seraglio: none pass through but such as are sent for. The hall of the divan is large, but low, covered with lead, wainscotted and gilt after the Moorish manner, plain enough. On the *estrade* is spread but one carpet for the officers to sit on. Here the Grand Vizier, assisted by his counsellors, determines all causes, civil and criminal, without appeal; the *caimacan* officiates for him in his absence; and the ambassadors are here entertained the day of their audience. Thus far may strangers go in the Seraglio; a man's curiosity might cost him dear, should he proceed further.

"The outside of this palace towards the port has nothing worth notice, but the kiosk or pavilion right

Digitized by Google

against Galata, which is supported by a dozen pillars of marble; it is wainscotted, richly furnished, and painted after the Persian manner. The Grand Signior comes thither sometimes to divert himself with viewing what passes in the port, or to take the pleasure of the water when he has a mind to it. The pavilion which is toward the Bosphorus is higher than that of the port, and is built on arches, which support three saloons terminated by gilded domes. The Prince comes thither to sport with his women and mutes. All these quays are covered with artillery without carriages; most of the cannon are planted level with the water: the largest piece is that which, they say, forced Babylon to surrender to Sultan Mourat, and by way of distinction it has an apartment to itself. This artillery is what the Mahometans rejoice to hear, for, when they are fired, it is to notify that Lent (*Ramezan* or *Ramazan*) is at an end: they are likewise fired on public rejoicing days.

"When the Grand Signior is at Constantinople, he sometimes amuses himself with observing from this kiosk, the ridiculous ceremonies of the Greeks on the Transfiguration-day, at a fountain hard by.* They not only fancy this water will cure a fever, but all other distempers present and to come. And therefore they do not content themselves with carrying thither their sick to drink of the water, but they bury them in the sand up to the chin, and then take them out again the moment after: such as are well, wash in it, and drink of it till it comes out as clear as it went in. All Greece is full of such fountains, but they are not mineral; their whole reputation is owing to the people's credulity. There is a large window near the

* Αγιασμα, the holy fountain.

Digitized by Google

scuttles, out of which are thrown in the night such as have been strangled in the Seraglio; and for every person so served, there is a cannon discharged. The Grand Signior's barge-houses are near these kiosks, and are under the care of the *bostangi-bashi*: these barges or galleys are made use of when the Grand Signior goes to the Seraglio from Scutari, and are steered by the *bostangi-bashi* when the Grand Signior is on board. They are very light and very neat: their oars are painted and gilded. *Fanari-kiosk* is a pavilion that Solyman II. built at the foot of the light-house on the Cape of Chalcedon: it is said that this pavilion is exceeding fine, and that its gardens are better contrived than those of the Seraglio.

"After viewing the Greek's fountain, we entered the port, and made towards the Seraglio of Looking-glasses: it is of no large compass. Behind its walls is the place where the Turks exercise themselves in shooting with the bow. Near it is a kind of gallery, where the Turks go in procession to pray for good success in an approaching battle, and sometimes to deprecate the plague when it is very raging, that is, when it carries off 1000 or 1,200 in a day. While we were ranging about the port, we were shewn some stakes or posts standing in the water to notify how far the great ships might find anchorage. From hence we proceeded to the coast of *Cassun-pasha*, where is the arsenal called *Ters-hana*, from the Persian word *ters*, ships, and *hana*, a place to build in. Here are built the Grand Signior's ships.

"From the suburb called Cassan-Pasha, you cross some burying-places to go to Galata,* which is the hand-

* The name of this suburb, according to Tzetzes, is derived from the Galates or Gauls, who crossed the port about this place; according to Codinus, from a Gaul who settled in this suburb. The

Digitized by Google

somest suburb of the whole city. It is built over against the Seraglio in the Fig-tree quarter, and is defended by pretty good walls, flanked with old towers; but these walls have been beaten down and built again at different times. Galata is divided into three quarters, from Cassun-pasha as far as to Topana: the walls and towers that separate these quarters are still in being. The quarter of Hasapcapi begins about Cassun-pasha, and ends at the mosque of the Arabs, where terminates the partition-wall that runs from the tower of Galata towards the south-west; thence as far as the custom-house is that quarter called Galata of the Customs, and the partition-wall reaches to the great tower of Galata. Cara-cui is the third quarter, and ends at Topana. The Mosque of the Arabs was a church of the Dominicans, as ancient as the time of St. Hyacinth, who procured it to be built, as likewise another church at Constantinople. The Mosque of the Arabs was taken from the Dominicans about a hundred years ago, as a forfeiture, and applied to the use of the Mahometan Granadins. There is no alteration made in it: the Gothic windows and inscriptions continue on the gates, and the belfry, which is a square tower, serves for a minaret. The Dominicans have also a church at Galata dedicated to St. Peter, of which they have been in possession for above 300 years. The French Capuchins have had there for above a hundred years, a church called St. Georgе: it belongs to the Genoese. The Greeks have three churches in the quarter of Cara-cui, and the Armenians one by the name of St. Gregory. The Latins possess

Greek writers call it Galatou (Του Γαλατου πολιχνιον—Φρουριον της Γαλατου), and some suppose it to be derived from γαλα, milk, and to be so named because the *milk-women* lived there!

Digitized by Google

that of St. Benedict, which, in the time of the Genoese, belonged to the Benedictines; but it was given to the Jesuits by the community of Pera.

"One tastes in Galata a snatch of liberty not to be found elsewhere throughout the Ottoman empire. Galata is, as it were, Christendom in Turkey: taverns are tolerated, and the Turks themselves refrain not from them, but freely resort thither to take a cheerful glass. The fish-market is worth seeing, and surpasses that on the other side the port going to St. Sophia: this of Galata is a long street, furnished on both sides with the finest fish in the world. You go up from Galata to Pera, which is, as it were, its suburb, and was formerly confounded under the same name. Pera is a Greek word, signifying beyond; and the Greeks of Constantinople, when they are minded to go beyond the port, still use this word, which has been taken by strangers for the whole quarter. This quarter, including Galata and Pera, is called Perea by Nicetas, by Gregoras, and by Pachymerus, and plain Pera by other authors; but at present, Pera is distinguished from Galata, and is precisely nothing but the suburb situated beyond the gate of that town. The Greeks in like manner call passage-boats *peramidia*, and the Franks, by corruption, *permes*. The situation of Pera is perfectly charming: from it you have a view of the whole coast of Asia, and of the Grand Signior's Seraglio. The ambassadors of France, England, Venice, and Holland have their palaces in Pera; the ambassador of the King of Hungary (for under that title, and no other, the Emperor sends him), those of Poland and of Ragusa, are lodged in Constantinople. Attached to the palace of France, is a chapel served by Capuchin friars, who are likewise the teachers of certain young lads the

Digitized by Google

King sends thither to learn the Turkish, Arabian, and Greek languages, that they may afterwards serve for interpreters to the French consuls in the ports of the Levant. The foreign merchants have their houses and warehouses in Pera, as well as in Galata, promiscuously with the Jews, Greeks, Armenians, and Turks. There is a seraglio in Pera, where are brought up the children of the tribute, *i. e.* such as have been chosen out by the Grand Signior's officers from among the Greeks in Europe, to serve about the person of his Highness after they are made Mussulmen, and are instructed in the necessary exercises. This custom being discontinued, the seraglio runs to decay.

"From Pera, you go down to Topana, another suburb, just as you enter the canal of the Black Sea: here, such as have a mind to divert themselves on the water usually take boat. Nothing is so agreeable as the amphitheatre formed by the houses of Galata, Pera, and Topana, running from the tops of hills as far as the sea. Topana is somewhat less than either of the others. Mezomorto, who was captain-bashaw in 1701, built a handsome seraglio here. A hundred paces from the sea stands the arsenal or foundery for cannon, called *topana* in Turkish: it is a house covered with low domes, and has given its name to the whole quarter.

"There are but two obelisks and some few columns at Constantinople, besides some bas-reliefs at the Seven Towers. The obelisks are in a place called Atmeidan, mentioned before to have been the ancient Hippodrome, or running-place for horses: the Turks have done little more than translate the name of it, for *At* in Turkish signifies a horse, and *Meidan*, a place. It is about 400 paces long, and 100 wide. Every Friday, for the most part, when service is over

Digitized by Google

at the mosques, the young Turks that pretend to feats of activity, get together at this place, well dressed and handsomely mounted, where they divide themselves into two companies, at each end one. On giving a signal, a horseman starts from each side, and runs full speed with a long kind of dart in his hand: the excellency of their performance consists in throwing this dart and hitting their adversary, or in avoiding the blow. Their motion is inconceivably swift, and their dexterity and address on horseback miraculous.

"The obelisk of granite or Thebaic stone, is still in the *Atmeidan:* it is a four-cornered pyramid, of one single piece, about fifty feet high, terminating in a point, charged with hieroglyphics, now unintelligible; a proof, however, of its being very ancient, and wrought in Egypt. By the Greek and Latin inscriptions at the base, we learn that the Emperor Theodosius caused it to be set up again, after it had lain on the ground a considerable time. The machines which were made use of in rearing it, are represented in bas-relief. Nicetas, in the Life of St. Ignatius, patriarch of Constantinople, observes, that this obelisk had at its top a brazen pine-apple, which was thrown down by an earthquake.

"Hard by are seen the remains of another obelisk with four faces, built with different pieces of marble; the tip of it is fallen, and the rest cannot long continue. This obelisk was covered over with brazen plates, as is apparent from the holes made to receive the pegs that fastened them to the marble. These plates were certainly set off with bas-reliefs and other ornaments, for the inscription at the bottom speaks of it as a work altogether marvellous. Bondelmont, in his description of Constantinople, makes the other obelisk to be 24 cubits high, and this 58: perhaps it

Digitized by Google

supported the brazen column of the three serpents. This column is about fifteen feet high, formed by three serpents, turned spirally like a roll of tobacco: their contours diminish insensibly from the base as far as the necks of the serpents, and their heads spreading on the sides like a tripod, compose a kind of chapiter. Sultan Mourat is said to have broken away the head of one of them; the pillar was thrown down, and both the other heads taken away in 1700, after the peace of Carlowitz. What is become of them, nobody can tell; but the rest has been set up again, and is among the obelisks, at like distance from each other. This column of brass is of the very earliest, supposing it brought from Delphi, where it served to bear up that famous golden tripod which the Greeks, after the battle of Platea, found in the camp of Mardonius.

"In the street called Adrianople, they shewed us the Burnt Column; and well may it be called so, for it is so black and smoke-dried by the frequent fires that have happened to the houses thereabouts, it is no easy matter to find out what it is made of. But, upon a narrow inspection, it appeared to be porphyry stones, the junctures hid with copper rings. It is thought Constantine's figure stood on it. By the inscription we learned, 'that that admirable piece of workmanship was restored by the most pious Emperor Manuel Comnenes.' Glycas reports, that, towards the close of the reign of Nicephorus Botoniates, who was shaven and put into a cloister, Constantine's column was struck with thunder, and that this column supported the figure of Apollo, then called by that emperor's name. The column called Historical,* is not of so

* Lady M. W. Montagu, speaking of this column, writes:—"The historical pillar is no more: it dropped down about two years before I came to this part of the world." On which Dr. Dal-

Digitized by Google

valuable stuff, it being only plain marble; but it is remarkable for its height, which is 147 feet, and for its bas-reliefs, which are well designed for those times: it ispity the fire has so disfigured them. They represent the victories of the Emperor Arcadius. The conquered towns appear under the shape of women, whose heads are crowned with towers: the horses are finely done; but the emperor is sitting in a kind of elbow-chair, in a fur-gown, not unlike a judge. The *labarum*, or imperial standard, is over his head, held by two angels, with the device of the Christian emperors, 'Jesus Christ is conqueror.' As for Marcian's column, though it be of granite, it is not much inquired after; it does more honour to Messieurs Spon and Wheler, who first discovered it, than to Tatianus, who erected it: it may have been the urn wherein that emperor's (Marcianus) heart was put. It is somewhat strange that his column escaped the curiosity of M. Gilles, in his exact description of Constantinople: it stands in a private court-yard, close by the street called Adrianople, near the baths of Ibrahim Bashaw.

"After well observing this street, the longest and broadest of any in the city, the next walk usually is to the bazars or bezesteins, places like our changes for selling fine wares of all sorts. The old and new bazar stand pretty near each other; they are large square buildings, covered with domes, supported by arches and pilasters. In the old one, there is but little fine

laway, the Editor of her Letters, has the following note:—"The Arcadian column, built in 404, after the model of those of Trajan and Antoninus, at Rome. The shaft of it was entirely taken down in 1695, having become ruinous by earthquakes and fire." Mr. Hobhouse says:—"Aurat Bazar being burned down in the last rebellion, we had not a view of the base of the Arcadian column, which was about fourteen feet high, when seen by Dr. Dallaway, but mutilated and entirely defaced."

Digitized by Google

merchandise; it was built in 1461. Here they sell all sorts of weapons, especially sabres; and likewise horse-harness, some of which are enriched with gold, silver, and precious stones. The new bazar is replenished with all manner of merchandise; and though there are none but goldsmith's shops, yet, they sell furs, vests, carpets, stuffs of gold and silver, silk, goats'-hair; nor is it without jewels and china-ware. They are now repairing it; it will be much more lightsome than before; there will be apartments for officers that have the guard of it, and go their rounds day and night. The goods are well secured in these places, the gates being shut betimes. The Turks retire to their own homes in the city, but the Christian and Jewish merchants cross the water, and return the next morning.

"The market for slaves of both sexes is not far off. Here the poor wretches sit in a melancholy posture. Before they cheapen them, they turn them about from this side to that, survey them from top to bottom, put them to exercise whatever they have learned, and this several times a day, without ever coming to any agreement. Such of them, both men and women, to whom Dame Nature has been niggardly of her charms, are set apart for the vilest services; but such girls as have youth and beauty, pass their time well enough; only they often force them to turn Mahometans. The retailers of this human ware are the Jews, who take good care of their slaves' education, that they may sell the better: their choicest they keep at home, and there you must go, if you would have better than ordinary; for it is here, as it is in markets for horses, the handsomest do not always appear, but are kept within doors. These Jews teach their beautiful female slaves to dance, sing, play on instruments, and every-

Digitized by Google

thing else that may inspire love. Sometimes they marry very advantageously, and feel nothing of slavery; they have the same liberty in their houses as the Turkish women themselves.

"The great square near the mosque of Sultan Bajazet, is the place where the mountebanks and jugglers, with their cups and balls, play their tricks. We had not time to see them, nor a thousand other things besides. We endeavoured, but to no purpose, to see the castle of the Seven Towers, situated at the further end of the town, towards the main land and the Sea of Marmora. Every body knows, this castle took its name from those same towers covered with lead. It is a kind of bastile or prison for persons of distinction; but it is asserted, they admit no strangers to see it, since the Chevalier de Beaujeu, who was there confined, found means to escape. He had made such considerable captures on the Turks, that the Grand Signior revenged himself on the governor, by causing his head to be struck off. The gilded gate, which was the most considerable of Constantinople under the Greek emperors, is within this prison-wall. In the time of the Greek emperors, there was at this gate, a kind of castle called the Round Castle."

Wheler, who was permitted to go round it, observed nothing but "an ancient gate, looking towards the Propontis, adorned with basso-relievos on oblong tables of white marble. On one is the fall of Phaëton; on another, Hercules fighting with a bull; on another, Hercules in combat with Cerberus; and on another, Venus coming to visit Adonis sleeping; with some others which," he adds, "we knew not what they signified. This gate is now quite stopped up.

Digitized by Google

The place looks not strong enough for a castle, but is sufficiently so for a prison." * Only four of the seven towers have remained entire (for the fifth is rent in half) since the earthquake of 1768; but the fortress still retains the names of *Efta Koulades* in the Greek, and *Yedi Kouleler* in the Turkish, both of them signifying the former number of its conspicuous bulwarks.†

Among those who have recently visited Constantinople, the traveller who has furnished the best account of the capital is Mr. Hobhouse; and his interesting interesting sketch will supply some further particulars with regard to the appearance of the city, a century after it was visited by Tournefort.

"We had not been many days at Pera, before we crossed the water to visit the capital. A party of us went in a boat from the Salsette, and in one of the *peramidias*, or small wherries which ply upon the canal.‡ The resemblance of the *kirlangishes* or swallows, as they are called, to the shape of the ancient boats, has been often observed, and is so exact, that

* Tournefort's Voyage in the Levant (translated by Ozell). London, 1741, vol. ii. pp. 151—200. Our readers will not be displeased at the quaint and racy phraseology, which we have not ventured to modernize.

† "The defences of this imperial castle do not entitle it to any respect as a fortress; and if the Ottoman armies lost, as it is said, 12,000 men in forcing this portion of the Byzantine ramparts, (the ancient Cyclobion,) they must have met with a much more serious resistance than the Aga Abdulhamid and his garrison of sixty-five men prepared against the crews of two Lasic vessels, who stormed the place in 1795, and carried off a captive fellow-countryman."—HOBHOUSE, Letter xlviii.

‡ The number of fishing-boats at the time of the Latin invasion, was 1,600. In 1777, including the private pleasure-boats, they amounted to 5,700.

Digitized by Google

they might be thought the originals of those which are often seen on the Etruscan vases, conveying the shades of the departed across the Styx. We landed, after rowing up the harbour, near the spot where the walls begin to cross the peninsula at *Askame Iskelessi*, close to the gate of St. Demetrius. We walked through Ballat, the quarter of the Jews, which seems to have derived its name from Palation, as a large building known to the Turks by the name of *Tekkuri Serai* is recognised for the Hebdomon, a palace of the Cæsars standing in this region of the metropolis. We then arrived at a range of sheds where there were many gilded *arabats* for hire, and some attached stables, from which we procured horses, and rode under the walls across the peninsula, as far as the Seven Towers. The appearance of these walls (the work of the second Theodosius) is more venerable than that of any other Byzantine antiquity: their triple ranges,* rising one above the other, in most places nearly entire, and still retaining their antient battlements and towers, are shaded with large trees, which spring from the fosse and through the rents of repeated earthquakes. The intervals between the triple walls, which are eighteen feet wide, are in many places choked up with earth and masses of the fallen ramparts; and the fosse, of twenty-five feet in breadth, is cultivated and converted into herb-gardens and cherry-orchards, with here and there a solitary cottage. Such is the height of the walls, that, to those following the road under them on the outside, none of the moscks or other buildings of the capital, except the towers of Tekkuri-Serai, are visible; and as there are no suburbs, this line of majestic ramparts, defenceless and trembling

* Every recent author, except Dr. Dallaway, appears to have overlooked the third range.

Digitized by Google

with age, might impress upon the mind the notion, that the Ottomans had not deigned to inhabit the conquered city, but, carrying away its people into distant captivity, had left it an unresisting prey to the desolations of time.

"In crossing the five highways which issue from their respective gates, we met hardly a single passenger; and even two or three little huts, where a glass of water, pipes, and cherries, might be procured, seemed less frequented than the coffee-houses on the roads of Asia Minor. We passed first by *Egri-Kapoussi* (the oblique gate), where the triple wall commences, and next by *Edrene-Kapoussi* (the gate of Adrianople), *Top-Kapoussi* (the Cannon-gate, where the victorious Mahomet made his public entry into Constantinople), and afterwards by *Mevlanè Yeni-Kapoussi*. We then crossed over the road leading from *Selivri-Kapoussi* (the gate of Selivria), and riding through a large Armenian burying-ground, arrived at *Baloucli*, which is the site of the church of the Virgin, built by Justinian.

"Not finding our boats, as we expected, at the water's edge, we rode onwards for some way near the walls, and through several narrow, mean streets, in which there were but few people stirring, until we came to a large manufactory of printed cottons. This we visited, and saw that the whole labour is performed by the hand. On our route, we passed *Imrhor Djiamissi*, a mosck,* once the church of St. John Studius,†

* This is Mr. Hobhouse's orthography: Gibbon writes it mosch; and the word appears in all sorts of shapes in the works of foreign travellers. We have usually adhered to the French orthography, mosque, not as the most correct, but as established by usage.

† "The finest mosque next after St. Sophia which has been a church," says Pococke, "is on the seventh hill, and near the Seven Towers. It is called by the Greeks Constantine's Church, but is

Digitized by Google

where there are still some pictures preserved; and skirting the outlet of the gate *Psammatia*, near which are two decent Greek churches, and of *Vlanga Bostan* (the gate of Theodosius), come to *Yeni Kapoussi* (the new gate), near the new quarter of the Armenians, who have a handsome church, built in the reign of the last Selim..... Passing through this gate, we came to a long range of coffee-houses by the sea-side. These were of the better sort, open on one quarter, with a fountain playing in the middle of a range of marble seats, and recesses furnished with pillows, stuffed carpets, and mats, which, in some of them, were spread also upon marble slabs on the outside of the houses. In one, several well-dressed Turks were sitting with their pipes, listening to the pretty airs of a guitar and violin, while the recesses were occupied by others asleep. Some of these, with their turbans off, and their heads wrapped in a sash, were rolled in the carpets, and sunk on the cushions, in the apparatus and oblivion of a night slumber; and neither these, nor such as were stretched upon the slabs on the outside, who would have had a thousand practical waggeries played off upon them in any other city, were disturbed or even noticed by the company. None of the guests, indeed, seemed entirely awake, but, inhaling the odours of their perfumed herbs, silent, sedate, and lost in the delicious bliss of total inactivity and listlessness, were

the church of a monastery called Studios, from a citizen of Constantinople of that name, who built it. There is a very handsome portico to it, with four pillars of white marble, which support a very rich entablature, there being another of the same kind within. The nave is divided from the aisle by seven verd-antique pillars, of the composite order, six feet two inches in circumference. Over these, there are as many more pillars of the Ionic order, probably of the same materials, but, according to the Turkish taste, whited over. There is a cistern under a court to the south, in which are four rows of Corinthian pillars."

Digitized by Google

lulled into the soft approaches of repose by the tinkling music, the unceasing fall of the fountain, and the regular ripplings of the water on the sandy shore. The *meddahs*, or reciters of stories, who frequent these coffee-houses, as well as some others near Tekkuri-Serai, can scarcely extort from their indolent audience the labour of a smile, and, by fixing the attention upon one monotonous narration, rather augment than interrupt the universal torpor."

"Among the frequenters of these coffee-houses may be seen some of those *teriakis*, or opium-eaters, who are always noticed among the curiosities of the Turkish capital. Pale, emaciated, and ricketty, sunk into a profound stupor, or agitated by the grimaces of delirium, their persons are, after the first view, easily to be recognised, and make, indeed, an impression too deep to be erased. Their chief resort is a row of coffee-houses in a shady court, near the mosck of Sultan Solyman. The increasing attachment to wine has diminished the consumption of opium; but there are still to be found *teriakis*, who will swallow in a glass of water three or four lozenges, amounting to 100 grains. They are mixed with spices, and stamped with the words *Mash Allah* (the work of God.)*

"From the coffee-houses, we walked on to a *tabagie* near *Koum-Kapoussi*, the next gate, where we dined upon *kebab*. This dish, which any palate would reckon a delicacy, consists of mutton chopped in small bits, either with or without herbs, larded with milk and

* Mustafa Shatoor, the Smyrna opium-eater, was in the practice of swallowing three drams daily. The "English Opium-eater" confesses to 8000 drops (210⅔ grains) as his utmost excess. Garcias, in his History of Drugs and Spices, speaks of a person who took ten drams every day; and Zeviani mentions another individual, who ate half a pound daily with equal impunity.

Digitized by Google

butter, and fried upon a wooden skewer over a small brazier. The room is fitted up with small boxes, in our own fashion; and there is generally one chamber to which a small party may retire. The *kebabjees* (cooks), who are in the highest repute, live near *Eski Serai*; and as all of them are Turks, only sherbets are served up with their meats; but, in our tavern, there was no want of wine. At a table near us, covered with a dessert of fruit and cakes, sat a knot of young Turks, the bucks of the quarter, pushing about the bottle with a noisy emulation which did not confine itself to their own party, but brought them staggering to our side of the room, with tumblers of wine, pledging repeatedly our healths, and looking at us for our approbation, as acknowledged masters of the art. Their debauch ended in loud fits of screaming and shouting, and other resemblances of the senseless merriment of an English hunting-club.

"We found our boat near *Koum-Kapoussi*, and embarking, rowed under the walls. We passed *Ahour-Kapoussi*, the gate near the Grand Signior's stables, where the walls of the Seraglio commence, and *Balik-Hane* (the fisher's house), a small green kiosk projecting from the walls of the Seraglio, to which it has been usual to send the deposed viziers through a garden gate close behind, to await their sentence. The execution is performed in a little chamber running out by itself, and forming, as it were, an upper wing of the kiosk. A removal to *Balik-Hane* has generally been the forerunner of death; but a more fortunate minister has sometimes been led, not to the fatal chamber, but down to the shore, where a boat has been waiting to convey him to the place of banishment. *Balik-Hane* is not the only spot chosen for the punishment of the Sultan's enemies. A dark

Digitized by Google

chamber at the gate of the second court of the Seraglio, called *Mabein*, where the vizier's heads are always exposed, is allotted to the same purpose, and is the permanent station of the royal executioners.*

"After *Balik-Hane*, we passed by *Indogouli Kiosch* (the pearl pavilion), *Mermer Kiosch* (the marble pavilion), and *Yali Kiosch* (the kiosch of the landing-place). From near the second, there is a view of the summit of the Corinthian pillar of white marble, fifty feet high, in the gardens of the Seraglio, with the inscription: FORTUNÆ REDUCI OB DEVICTOS GOTHOS. It is surmounted by a handsome capital of *verd-antique*. This has been erroneously supposed to be the column of Theodora. The *Yali Kiosch* is covered on the outside with a screen of green canvas or cloth, and contains a long chair or sofa of silver, on which the Grand Signior seats himself to take public leave of the Vizier Azem, or the Capudan Pasha, previously to any warlike expedition, and also on certain occasions of rejoicing, when tents are pitched for the grandees of his court, and for the foreign minis-

* "Reckoning on an average deduced from 115 grand-viziers, who successively governed the Ottoman empire to the time of the siege of Vienna, the place of the prime-minister of the Porte may be esteemed worth *three years and a half purchase*. The instability of every powerful individual in Turkey, may be judged of by the events of fifteen months from the year 1622, during which time there were three emperors, seven grand-viziers, two capudan-pashas, five Janizar-agas, three tefterdars (high treasurers), and six pashas of Cairo. The power of the vizier-azem continued unrivalled till the reign of Mahommed V., when it was decreased by the influence of the kislar-aga, or chief of the black eunuchs, and has since that period been occasionally shared with the Janizar-aga, the capudan-pasha, and other great officers of state. Vizier is from a Turkish word signifying a porter; as *bailo*, the title of a Venetian ambassador, and *baillif*, a municipal officer, are derived from *bajulus*."

Digitized by Google

ters, and games and fireworks are exhibited in the open space between the pavilion and the sea. Between the kiosks we landed, and walking along the shore, passed a range of monstrous cannon, laid up under a line of sheds. Over the gate of the Seraglio, near this spot, are some large fish-bones suspended by chains, which, the Turks say, are those of a giant. Close to *Yali Kiosk*, we saw the boat-houses containing the barges of the Seraglio and that of the Grand Signior, burnished in every part with gold, and provided with a covered recess of lattice-work at the stern, for the retirement of the Emperor. The barge is rowed with six-and-twenty oars, and the helm is held by the *bostanje-bashe*. From this place, we passed over to Tophana, having, in boats, on horseback, and by walking, made the circuit of Constantinople; an expedition which, including stoppages, employed us from nine in the morning to half after four in the afternoon."

In subsequent walks to Constantinople, Mr. Hobhouse visited the antiquities of the *Atmeidan*, the cisterns, and the aqueducts. It would be very difficult, he says, to recognise in the present *Atmeidan*, the ancient Hippodrome. "It is no longer a circus, but an oblong, open space, 250 paces long and 150 wide,* flanked on one side by the magnificent mosck of Sultan Achmet, and, on the other, by the dead wall of a hospital, under which there is a line of low buildings and sheds, or stands for arabats. The granite obelisk of Theodosius, the broken pyramid of Constantine Porphyrogenitus, stripped of its bronze

* Wheler makes it 550 paces by 120. He writes it *Achmet-dam*. Lady M. W. Montagu calls the place *At-iordan*, or place of horses, "*at* signifying a horse in Turkish."

Digitized by Google

plates,* and the base of the Delphic pillar, were all that remained, even in the time of Sandys,† of the many noble monuments with which this spot was formerly adorned; and were it not for these antiquities, which are yet to be seen, it is probable that the site of the Hippodrome would be covered with houses, and become in a short time the subject of controversy. The *djereed*-playing is less frequent there now than formerly. The surface of the ground is uneven, and of a hard gravelly soil."

By far the most interesting relic of antiquity is the serpentine column which once supported the golden tripod in the temple of Delphi. With regard to its identity, there seems no reason to entertain a suspicion;‡ but there is a singular discrepancy in the accounts respecting its subsequent history. We have cited, in the historical sketch, the statement of Gibbon, (on the authority of Thevenot,) that the under-jaw of one of the serpent's heads was struck off by Mahommed II. with a stroke of his battle-axe. "That

* Called by the old topographers *Colossus Structilis*. According to Dr. Dallaway, it is 94 feet high.

† "In this place there standeth a stately hieroglyphical obelisk of Theban marble. A little removed, there standeth a column of wreathed brass, with three infolded serpents at the top, extended in a triangle, looking several ways. And beyond both these, another high obelisk, termed by some a colossus, built of sundry stones, now greatly ruined, covered heretofore with plates of gilded brass. And in *Auretbasar* (that is, the market of women), there is an historical column, to be ascended within, far surpassing both Trajan's and that of Antonine, the workman having so proportioned the figures, that the highest and lowest appear of one bigness."—SANDYS, p. 27.

‡ "Gyllius," says Mr. Hobhouse, "has established beyond all doubt its identity with the column supporting the Platæan tripod at Delphi. See also authorities in Gibbon, c. xvii. Pococke says: "At the Grand Signior's seraglio of Sandabat, there is one made in imitation of it, but not so large."

Digitized by Google

such a story should ever have prevailed," Mr. Hobhouse remarks, "is extraordinary, since every traveller, from Gyllius to Wheler, who has given a picture of it, describes the column as entire. Tournefort, we have seen, represents it as mutilated." Yet, Lady M. W. Montagu speaks of the three serpents as having "their mouths gaping." Pococke again says: "Part of the serpentine pillar is broken off;" and Chishull avers, that the serpents' heads "which *lately* terminated the pillar," were taken off privately by the servants of the late Polish ambassador. * "It is now generally believed," adds Mr. Hobhouse, "that it has been removed, as Tournefort relates, from its former site; and it is not agreed whether the bottom or the top of the pillar is now inserted in the ground. The upper part does not diminish so much as, from the representation of its ancient shape, it might be supposed to do near the summit, where the serpents' heads began to branch off. The column, as much of it as is seen above ground, is now about seven feet in height and of a proportionate thickness. It is hollow, and the cavity has been filled up with stones by the Turks. The brazen column at St. Ambrogio, which is believed to be the serpent of Moses, was brought, if we may credit the Milanese historians, from Constantinople, and may have been confounded with the serpentine pillar."

Mr. Hobhouse entered a house to see the base of the "Burnt Column," which is near the Atmeidan; but found that the Turks have built a stone facing round the bottom of the monument, since the fire of 1779. The shaft is black from repeated conflagrations; and "this circumstance, together with the iron hoops" (Wheler says, hoops of brass) "encircling the pillar,

* Tournefort evidently refers to the same report. See p. 130.

Digitized by Google

conceals the joints of the blocks,* and gives the column the appearance of a single mass. It is now an unsightly structure, 90 feet high and 33 in circumference." When entire, this must have been one of the noblest columns in the world. On its summit, above 120 feet from the ground, stood the colossal statue of Apollo. "It was of bronze, had been transported either from Athens or from a town in Phrygia, and was supposed to be the work of Phidias. The artist had represented the god of day, or, as it was afterwards interpreted, the Emperor Constantine himself, with a sceptre in his right hand, the globe of the world in his left, and a crown of rays glittering on his head."†

Near the bath of Ibrahim Pasha, about mid-way between the Hippodrome and the Adrianople Gate, there is still standing in the court of a private house,

* See p. 130. "It is called the Burnt Pillar, because the pedestal and pillar have been much damaged by fire. It is erected on a marble pedestal 20 feet high, which is much ruined; and probably there were steps round it. The shaft seems to have consisted of ten pieces of porphyry, 33 French feet in circumference, each stone being 9 feet 4 inches long, excepting a wreath of laurel half a foot deep at the top of every one, which had the effect to conceal the joining of the stones. Seven of these stones now remain, though an exact describer of Constantinople says there were eight. Three of the stones, together with the statue, were thrown down by lightning, in the time of Alexius Comnenus. It was said to have been of the Doric order. There are now twelve tiers of stone above the seven of porphyry: eleven of them seem to be about a foot deep, and the uppermost, which is something like a Tuscan capital, is about two feet deep. There is a Greek inscription on the fourth tier, which I had not the opportunity of copying; but it is said to import, that the Emperor Manuel Comnenus repaired it. Arius is said to have died near this pillar."—Pococke. The inscription is given by Wheler.

† Gibbon. Pococke, without naming his authority, represents the pillar itself as having been brought from Rome by Constantine the Great, who "placed on it that exquisite bronze statue of Trojan Apollo, which was a representation of himself."

Digitized by Google

another ancient monument, now called *Kistach*. An inscription on the base, given by Wheler, states it to have been erected by Tatianus to the Emperor Marcian.* Both the pillar and the pedestal are of granite, but the Corinthian capital is of white marble. It is surmounted with an urn of the same material, "carved at the corners with eagles," which, Wheler supposes, may have contained the emperor's heart. The inscription intimates, that the statue of Marcian was placed on this monument; probably on the urn. This column, that near *Yeni-Kapoussi*, the one in the Seraglio gardens, and the Historical Column, are the only ancient monuments of this description now remaining in Constantinople.

At a little distance from the Burnt Column, in a quarter of the town anciently called *Lausus*, is the Imperial Cistern of Constantine, now called *Binderik*, or the Thousand and One Pillars, and *Yerebatan Serai*, the Subterranean Palace. It has now the appearance of a suite of gloomy dungeons, and was occupied, when Mr. Hobhouse visited it, by "a number of half-naked pallid wretches, employed in twisting silk through all the long corridors by the glare of torches. The roof of this reservoir, apparently that of Philoxenus, was supported by a double tier, consisting altogether of 424 pillars, of which only the upper half

* "This Tatianus," says Wheler, "was undoubtedly the same that assured him he should be emperor, when as yet he was but a private soldier; having with his brother Julio, seen an eagle sit over him, and shadowing him from the sun with his wings, when he was fallen asleep in the field, being wearied with hunting. For which, so soon as the event verified the good omen, he made Tatianus governor of the city, and Julio he made governor of Illyria."

Digitized by Google

are now cleared from the earth.* The cistern *Asparis*," continues Mr. Hobhouse, "constructed by Aspares and Ardaburius in the reign of Leo, who destroyed the founders of it in the reservoir itself, may be that of eighty columns near the mosck of Laleli, on the third hill. *Tchukour-Bostan*, now a herb-garden within a high-walled inclosure, between *Tekkuri-Serai* and *Ederne-Kapoussi*, is supposed by Le Chevalier to be the cistern called from a neighbouring church *Mocisia;* but it corresponds more precisely to that which was constructed by Bonus, a patrician, in the time of the Emperor Heraclius, at the back of the Hebdomon (*Tekkuri-Serai*), and which had lost its columns and chambers, and was a garden when seen by Gyllius. The same person mentions another cistern, containing cultivated ground, near the mosck of Sultan Selim, on the back of the fifth hill. A subterranean corridor of twenty-four columns near the Seven Towers, and some ancient remains between the public bath *Tchukour-Hamam*, and the mosck called *Seirek-Dgiamissi*, belong also to three other cisterns.

"*Bosdjohan-Kemeri*, the aqueduct of Valens before noticed, is in a thinly-inhabited part of the town, near *At-Bazar* (the horse-market), connecting what are called the third and fourth hills. The double row of forty Gothic arches seems to have been rebuilt by Solyman out of the old materials of intermixed stone and tile, and probably in the ancient form. Although still used to convey water, it is half in ruins, and has the decay without the grace of antiquity; but these *mighty arches*, these *aërial chambers*, the admiration

* Dr. Dallaway, not recognising the double set of columns, makes the number only 212.

Digitized by Google

of the Byzantines, have, as an architectural monument, nothing either grand or agreeable.

"The style of the numerous fountains at Constantinople is extravagant and fantastic; but the profusion of gilding, the variety of glaring colours, and even the taste of the whole structure, are consonant with the gay dresses of the people, and the gaudy air which spreads itself over every object of the Turkish capital. In the court of St. Sophia is a fountain erected by a Persian architect, after the fashion of his own country. The public baths, of which there are no fewer than 130 within the walls, do not add to the external beauty of the city. Their low, flat domes have a poor effect, but they are mostly built of marble, and the interior of them is handsome and spacious, and affords, in a degree superior to the baths of the provincial towns, every accommodation requisite for the perfect enjoyment of the first of oriental luxuries. The best in the city is near the church of the Armenian patriarch, and not far from the *Atmeidan*.

"The 180 *hans* of Constantinople are so many immense stone barracks or closed squares, which have, like the baths, every recommendation except architectural elegance. The court of *Valide-Han*, which we visited, and which is reckoned one of the best in Constantinople, is ornamented with a thin grove of trees, with two handsome fountains; and the building, besides warehouses and stables on the ground-floor, has three stories or galleries, one above the other, with ranges of small chambers, each of which is kept neat and clean by the servants of the *han*, and fitted up for the time with the carpets and slender wardrobe of the several occupiers. The generality of the *hans* are for travelling merchants; but the chambers of the one we visited, were let out as counting-houses to

Digitized by Google

some natives whose dwellings were in Galata, Pera, or some distant quarter of the city. These useful edifices are the work of the Ottoman sultans, and of other munificent individuals; so that strangers, except a small present to the servant at departing is taken into account, are gratuitously lodged, and are, during their residence in the city, masters of their rooms, of which they keep the keys. They are for all men, of whatever quality, condition, country, or religion soever: and there the poorest have room to lodge in, and the richest have no more. The construction of them has contributed to attract the merchants and the merchandise of the furthest boundaries of Africa and Asia to the capital of Turkey.* During fires or

* "The commercial intercourse of distant nations seems congenial to the spirit of the Mahometan religion, and it has been promoted not only by the chief injunction of that system, the pilgrimage to Mecca, but by various other regulations of useful piety, which facilitate the progress and contribute to the comfort of travellers. Hospitality in the East is still a duty, and the Mussulman esteems the construction of a fountain or a caravanseral in the wilderness, as an act of devotion not less sincere than serviceable. Thus also he cherishes the camel, not only as the favourite of his Prophet, but as the *ship of the desert*. The oriental travelling merchant, a character with which we become acquainted in the very outset of history (Genesis xxxvii. 25), is the favourite and the friend of Islamism. For the few days of the annual pilgrimage, the fair of Mecca, until the late disturbances of Arabia, was the greatest perhaps on the face of the earth. (Robertson's Historical Disquisition concerning India, sect. iii. p. 160, edit. quart.) From that centre, a constant and abundant supply of a thousand useful and luxurious commodities diverged in a variety and abundance sufficient for the real or fancied wants of every region of the eastern hemisphere. The communication of the commodities of distant regions by land-carriage, has, notwithstanding the progress of navigation, increased, instead of diminished in modern times; a curious fact, illustrated and explained by the eloquent and learned author to whom I have just referred. The same person will carry sulphur from Persia to China; from China to Greece, porcelain; from Greece to India, gold stuffs; from India to Aleppo, steel; from Aleppo to Yemen,

Digitized by Google

insurrections, their iron gates are closed, and they afford complete security to the persons as well as the goods of the merchants.

"The covered Bazars of Constantinople have more the appearance of a row of booths in a fair, than a street of shops. Yet, the arrangement and exposure of their various and gaudy articles would astonish a person acquainted even with the splendour of London: one alley glitters on each side of you for a hundred yards with yellow morocco; you turn into another fringed with Indian shawls, or cast your eye down a long vista lined with muslin draperies or robes of ermines and fur. The crowd in the Bazars, consisting chiefly of ladies, renders it difficult to pass through them, especially as more ceremony is required than amongst the well-dressed mob of an opera-house; and such are the extent and intricacy of these covered ways, that it would be a tiresome task to roam through the half of them in one morning.

"Not only these Bazars, but those which more resemble open streets, are severally allotted to particular trades and merchandise, after the manner of Athens, of Rome, and of this city when under the dominion of the Greeks. The shops of jewellers and engravers of precious stones, occupy one quarter; those of the goldsmiths, another. The curriers and leather-workers, as well as horse-dealers, all live at At-Bazar. Misir-Tacharchi is a long line of drug-repositories. All the Mocha coffee is ground by hand in Tahmis-Bazar.

glass; and from Yemen to Persia, painted calicoes. It is by the aid of the caravan, that the shawls of Cachemire, the muslins of Bengal, and the diamonds of Golconda, as well as the gold and ivory of Southern Africa, are to be met with in the bezesteins of Constantinople."

Digitized by Google

The ancient Charto-Pratia of the eastern capital may be recognised in Tusuk-Bazar, which is tenanted by the sellers of paper, and the copiers of manuscripts. The artists are all Turks; we saw them at their labours. Some were copying, others illuminating books; and many of them were employed in giving the gloss which is found on all their writing-paper, and which they effect by placing the sheets in box frames, and perseveringly rubbing the surface with a Chalcedonic amethyst, or piece of jasper, let into the end of a short stick;—a contrivance which is applied by our own artisans in polishing other substances. Those acquainted with oriental literature, would naturally resort to the shops of Tusuk-Bazar; and, as I understand, would meet with most of the books in any repute in the East."

The grand metropolitan mosque of St. Sophia has already been described. The royal mosques (*Djiamissi Selatyn*) are fourteen in number.* That of Sultan Ahmet has a magnificent exterior. "The court which ranges along one side of the Hippodrome, is shaded with trees, and provided with handsome fountains for the ablutions of the Mussulmans. The six minarets (a number with which no other mosck is furnished) are too tall for the building, but their distant appearance is imposing and agreeable. Ascending by a flight of thirteen marble steps into a fine vestibule or ambulatory, paved also with marble, and surrounded with an arched cloister of granite colonnades, you anticipate something more striking than

* According to Mr. Hobhouse. Pococke says, six only are royal mosques, viz. those of Sultans Achmed, Soliman, Mahommed, Selim, Bajazet, and the Valides. See p. 115. The total number of mosques in Constantinople, Mr. Hobhouse says, does not exceed 220, besides 300 *meyidi* or public chapels.

Digitized by Google

the interior of the building, where a dome much smaller than that of St. Sophia is supported by four gigantic ill-proportioned piers, spoiled also by tawdry fresco paintings, and by the cords of the lamps and consecrated vases. The windows of stained glass are a rich and suitable ornament to the building. In this mosck is the curtain or cloth door of the Kibleh (Kaaba*), which is renewed annually, the new one being sent with great pomp from the Grand Signior, and the old one brought from Mecca, and suspended in the temple of Sultan Achmet for a year."†

Little St. Sophia, (*Kutchuk Agia Sophia*) is a small mosque, which deserves notice from its having been a Christian church dedicated to St. Bacchus and St. Sergius, and built in the reign of Justinian. It stands near *Thatladi-Kapoussi*, a gate on the shore of the Sea of Marmora, not far from the mosque of Sultan Achmet. "It is a small round temple, covered with a dome standing on eight pillars of a mean appearance, and, in the interior, is remarkable only for two rows of eighteen and sixteen Ionic columns, fourteen of which are of verd-antique, and twenty of white marble suffused with red spots. The capitals of the pillars are ornamented with vine-leaves; for the former of these illustrious saints has retained the attributes of his namesake in the heathen mythology. The same holy person seems also to have preserved his divinity, not only in Greece, but in Italy and Spain, where it is common at this day to swear by Bacchus. A Greek inscription, in letters a foot long, runs round the whole of the building. It con-

* See Mod. Trav. Arabia, p. 240.

† In the court of this mosque, a number of cats are fed twice every week, according to the bequest of one of the Sultans. This animal was a favourite with Mohammed.

Digitized by Google

tains a mention of the Imperial founder. Procopius assures us, that the brilliancy of this temple exceeded the splendour of the sun, and that it was loaded with gold and ornaments. He launches out into other expressions of admiration, which confirm the opinion before expressed of the architectural beauties which were in most repute during the reign of Justinian.

"The *Osmanié*, called also *Nourri-Osmanié*, the light of the Ottomans, is well worthy of attention," continues Mr. Hobhouse, "as a decisive proof that the taste of the Turks is at least equal to that of the Greeks in the latter periods of their empire. The plan of the *Osmanié*, whatever may be its real merit, is, in my eyes, far preferable to that of St. Sophia.* A noble dome crowns the whole temple, not spreading its heavy arch in the centre of many diminutive cupolas, but swelling into a light and lofty vault immediately from the walls of the edifice. The whole pavement of the mosck is of white marble; the windows are of painted glass; and where there is any gilt or gaudy colouring, it is disposed with appropriate elegance and splendour. A range of columns of Thebaic granite, twenty-two feet in height, add to the ornament, while they contribute to the support of the edifice; and the general appearance of the *Osmanié* is that of a magnificent saloon, the graces of which the eye at one glance can comprehend, without the labour of a divided and minute inspection."

To the north of the court surrounding this mosque, there is a sarcophagus of porphyry, nine feet in length,

* This plan is stated to have been selected out of many others by Sultan Mahmoud, the superintendence of the work being entrusted to Greek architects. That Sultan did not live to see it finished: it was completed in the reign of his brother and successor, Osman III. in the year 1755,

Digitized by Google

seven in width, and five in depth, which now serves as a cistern for rain-water. This is one of two sarcophagi which are shewn as the tomb of Constantine; but, as Mr. Hobhouse has proved, it has no pretensions to this distinction. That which the citizens of Constantinople, at least three centuries ago, regarded as the tomb of that Emperor, is close to the mosque of Seirek or *Klisse Djiamissi* (the mosque of the churches); and is ten feet long, six feet wide, and eight in depth. According to Gyllius, the site of the church of the Apostles, in which the Emperor's remains were deposited, was at or near the *At-basar;* and in his time, the mass of hollow porphyry without a lid, the supposed tomb, was near the same spot, "close to the highway leading from St. Sophia to the Adrianople gate." Gyllius was sceptical with regard to the identity of this monument, but the story prevailed at the taking of the city; at which time the *operculum* of the sarcophagus seems to have been entire, and to have contained a mysterious inscription, interpreted by the Patriarch Gennadius into a prophecy relative to the eventual downfal of the Ottoman empire.*

"The most magnificent of all the Imperial mosques," Mr. Hobhouse says, "is the *Suleymanié*, built out of the ruins of the church of St. Euphemia at Chalcedon in 1556. It is not so large as St. Sophia, but much lighter and better coloured. The dome is less elliptical than that of the other mosck, and the four columns of Thebaic granite, sixty feet high, and each of a single stone, which contribute to its support,

* See Hobhouse, p. 976. "On the faith of this imposture," says this Traveller, "not only the Greeks have persuaded themselves of the approaching downfal of the Ottoman empire, but the Turks themselves have looked towards that fatal event."

Digitized by Google

are preferable to the ill-assorted masses collected by the architects of Justinian. The four piers on which the dome is raised, are indeed of an enormous bulk, but they are all of the same size, and correspond to the scale of the same structure. It is nearly a square, the length being two hundred and sixteen, and the breadth two hundred and ten feet. The pavement is of white marble, and on one of the sides of the mosck, is a range of latticed bronzed doors or casements, inclosing a collection of books attached to the college of the *Sulaymanié*. The ambulatory, or court of approach, which is paved with marble, is inclosed by a grand cloister of twenty-four columns, each cut from a single mass. The gate of entrance is in a singular taste, of fret-work, like the top of an episcopal cathedral chair. The ascent to it is by a flight of at least twenty marble steps. At the back of the mosck is an inclosed court, shaded with trees, which contains the mausoleum of Solyman. This was the most regular and best made of the sepulchral monuments seen by Grelot at Constantinople, and has not been surpassed or equalled by any subsequent structure of the same kind. 'It is an octagon, surrounded without by a gallery, the pent of which is supported by fifteen small columns of marble: within, it has a little octangular corridor, each of whose corners contains a serpentine column with the base and capital of white marble; so that in the interior of this sepulchre there are eight arcades, for the support of the dome. In the middle of the mausoleum is the tomb of the Sultan; also that of his son, at the foot of which is a large wax candle, and several wooden reading-desks, where the books are placed when the softas put up their prayers for the deceased.' Beyond the mausoleum of Solyman is that of Roxalana his wife. A sum is set apart to

Digitized by Google

maintain a certain number of readers, who, at stated times, pray for the soul of the Sultan; and this, as well as the other royal *Turbes*, is visited occasionally by the Grand Signior, who offers up his addresses at the foot of the tomb. The mausoleums are built open at the top, that the rain may fall upon the flowers and herbs which are planted round the grave; but they are guarded from the birds by a net of brass or gilded wire. In some instances, the bier is above ground, and the sepulchre is inclosed only by an iron railing; such is the *Turbe* of Sultans Mustapha and Selim. A large coloured turban, covered with ornaments, is fixed at the head of each bier. The *Suleymanié* is placed in a spacious rectangular court, inclosed by low walls, pierced with a row of open casements, which are latticed with iron-work."

The foundation of a royal mosque comprises also that of a college, a hospital, and an alms-house; and of the thirteen public libraries, nine or ten are attached to the *Djiamissi Selatyn*. Tournefort states, that these noble establishments consume a third of the land revenue.* The number of students in the *medresses* or colleges, has been declining, but still amounts, according to Mr. Hobhouse, to between four and five hundred in each. Besides these *medresses*, there are *mekiebs* or free-schools for the poor of the quarter, the expense of whose education, as well as the board and lodging of some of them, is defrayed out of the revenues of the mosque. In 1782, there were more

* "It is affirmed," he says, "that the revenue of St. Sophia is 600,000 livres. The villages whose revenues belong to the royal mosques, have large privileges; their inhabitants are exempt from quartering soldiers, and from being oppressed by the bashaws, who, when they travel that way, turn aside."

Digitized by Google

than 500 schools registered in the books of the Stamboul-Effendi, or Mayor. "When it is recollected," remarks Mr. Hobhouse, "that each of the edifices here noticed is adorned with, and chiefly composed of rich marbles, and that the domes are covered with lead; and when it is also considered, that there are more than two hundred similar structures, built with materials more or less rich, and all protected by the same costly covering, the Turks will not be accused of neglecting the splendour of their capital. Their admiration of the dome displays itself in all their edifices. Not only the moscks and the mesdjidis or chapels, but the hans, the bezesteins, and the baths are crowned with cupolas; and as they are known by this distinction from the dwelling-houses, Constantinople appears to the distant spectator to contain as many public as private buildings. I consider the present city to be infinitely superior to the metropolis of the Greek empire in the reigns of the latter emperors. The streets are, it is true, narrow, and either ill-paved or not at all; but, except in Ballat, the Fanal, and the Armenian quarter, they are much cleaner than those of Pera, and, unless compared with the neatness and regularity of an English town, are far from deserving those epithets of disgust and contempt which are usually bestowed upon them by travellers. Constantinople, however, is distinguished from every other capital in Europe, by having no names to its streets, no lamps, and no post-office. Of the last two, the Turks do not feel any want: they are all within doors after sun-set; and their epistolary correspondence is not too frequent to be conveniently carried on by the assistance of travelling friends, or other casual conveyances."

Digitized by Google

POPULATION OF THE CITY.

THE number of houses in Constantinople, Pera, and Galata, in 1796, was 88,185; according to which estimate, the population cannot be taken at less than half a million.* Of these, the Turks, or Osmanlees, and other Moslems, are supposed to constitute about three-fourths. Next to them, the Greeks have been supposed to be the most numerous; then, the Armenians; after whom come the Jews; and last of all, in point of numbers, the Franks.

"I live in a place," writes Lady Mary Wortley Montagu, "that very well represents the Tower of Babel. In Pera, they speak Turkish, Greek, Hebrew, Armenian, Arabic, Persian, Russian, Slavonian, Walachian, German, Dutch, French, English, Italian,

* "Among the calculations I collected during my residence," says Mr. Turner, "that which appeared to me most probable, gave a million of souls to the capital and to the villages on the Bosphorus up to the entrance of the Black Sea. Of these, between 6 and 700,000 inhabit the city, including its suburbs of Pera, Galata, and Scutari. It is from the desolation of the provinces, and the securer shelter from oppression enjoyed by a large community, that the cities of this declining empire are well peopled. When I passed Gallipoli on my way to Constantinople in 1812, that city contained 12,000 houses. When I again landed there in 1815, it consisted of 16,000, the additional 4000 houses being inhabited by the natives of the north of Greece, who, during that interval, had fled from their homes, to avoid the ravages of the robbers and the equally dreaded violence of the soldiery. An unthinking observer would form a high opinion of the prosperity of Turkey, from the rapidity with which the numbers who perished in the plague of 1812, were supplied at Constantinople and its neighbourhood; but the traveller would find villages and whole tracts of country emptied to furnish them. The capital is peopled at the expense of the exhausted country; and it is the same ruinous want of system in the government, which depopulates the provinces of the empire, and gathers multitudes on the banks of the Bosphorus."—TURNER'S *Tour in the Levant*, vol. i. p. 91.

Digitized by Google

Hungarian; and what is worse, there are ten of these languages spoken in my own family. My grooms are Arabs; my footmen, French, English, and Germans; my nurse, an Armenian; my housemaids, Russians; half a dozen other servants, Greeks; my steward, an Italian; my Janizaries, Turks: so that I live in the perpetual hearing of this medley of sounds, which produces a very extraordinary effect upon the people that are born here; for they learn all these languages at the same time, and without knowing any of them well enough to write or read in it. There are very few men, women, or even children here, that have not the same compass of words in five or six of them. I know myself several infants of three or four years old, that speak Italian, French, Greek, Turkish, and Russian; which last they learn of their nurses, who are generally of that country."

THE ARMENIANS.

"The Armenians," says Mr. Hobhouse, "are the most respectable of the Christian inhabitants of the Levant. The depopulation of a whole country has often been effected by those monsters to whom the Author of all events has, at different times, delivered the universe; but no great and violent work of tyranny was ever attended with less excess, or has produced more beneficial consequences, than the laying waste of Armenia by Sha-Abbas the Great, and the partial deportation of its inhabitants from the frontiers to the interior provinces of Persia. By this decisive measure, the monarch prevented the encampment of the Turkish armies on the borders of his dominions; and, by giving a new spirit and employment to the transplanted nation, increased the wealth of his empire, at the same

Digitized by Google

time that he bettered the condition, and added to the importance of a large portion of his subjects. The Armenians, who, from being the most warlike of the Asiatics, had, after their subjection by the Persians, become the patient cultivators of the soil, from the period of this forced emigration substituted commerce for agriculture, and gave a striking, and perhaps a solitary example, of the competence of a powerful individual to change the habits and character of a whole people. Some of this nation were to be found in Constantinople in the latter periods of the Greek empire; but the Armenian merchant, now so well known in every quarter of the globe, was created by that prince, when he established the great colony of Julfa, in the suburbs of Ispahan; and to the same act, the European world is indebted for an increased and perpetual supply of the most precious and costly of all oriental commodities. The growth of silk increased in every province of Persia; and the new settlers, applying the same prudence and industry to the concerns of commerce, as they had before employed upon the labours of agriculture, not only enriched themselves and added to the revenues of the state, but, by an intercourse with more civilised nations in their long and painful journeys, and an interchange of their merchandise for the manufactures of Europe, improved the taste, and much increased the comforts, of all their fellow-subjects.

"Of mild but persevering tempers, sober and patient in all their pursuits, honest although skilful in their dealings, accommodating in their habits and manners without losing their individual character, they did not fail to acquire a reputation in every country to which they were directed by the enterprise of traffic; and the preference shewn for those of their nation in all commercial transactions, soon

Digitized by Google

made them settlers in many of the flourishing cities of Asia and Europe. They had not to make any sacrifice of patriotic feelings, for they had no country; and they are now, not less than the Jews, a dispersed people, living in strange lands; and in Turkey, notwithstanding their numbers, they may be considered rather as a sect than a nation.

"The above eulogy of the Armenians must be confined to their mercantile character. Living under despotic masters, being of a more saturnine and phlegmatic disposition than the Greeks, and not having, like their fellow-subjects, any interest in the soil, or desire of emancipation, they have the temperament of contented slaves; and their minds display no other activity than what is sufficient to assist them in the pursuit of one only object—the attainment of wealth. Their boasted literal language, which is comparatively a late invention, although understood by only a few of their *Vertabiets*, or Doctors, has not contributed to the advancement of science or any branch of learning. Like the Greeks, they are debased by their subjection not only to the Turks, but to their priests, and by the tyranny of a mean and absurd superstition.

"Some of the customs of the Armenians are not less striking to a Frank stranger, than those of the Turks. Their women are equally enveloped when abroad, and are to be distinguished from the Mahomedan females only by the colour of the square capes of the *feredjès* which hang behind their backs. Their marriage ceremonies are as tedious and fantastical as those of any of the Orientals. These lasting alliances, which are settled between the parents during the infancy, and sometimes before the birth of the parties, are concluded and consummated before the bridegroom has a view of the face of his spouse; and the disguise is in

Digitized by Google

some instances continued after the marriage; but unless the honest visiters at Pera are much deceived, the extreme delicacy of the females is reserved only for their husbands. Their constant use of the bath, and other personal habits, together with the little peril of an amour with a Christian, compared with a Mahometan intrigue, render them the unsuspected and ready substitutes for the Turkish ladies, in the hands of a class of people which may always be met with in any large city."

The following account of an Armenian marriage is given by the Rev. Dr. Walsh, late chaplain to the British Embassy. "I was invited to the wedding of a young lady of one of the first Armenian families of Pera, whose match was made in this way, and who, I was assured, had never seen the man she was going to marry. We went about eight o'clock in the evening, and found the house lighted up and full of the lady's friends, among whom were the priest and his wife, very plain, simple-looking persons. We passed through several ante-rooms, in which were groupes of people, and were finally ushered into an inside chamber, round which was a divan, or long sofa, against the wall. On the divan were a number of Armenian ladies, sitting cross-legged, two or three deep and close together; and at the far corner, sat a still, motionless form, like a bust in a niche, covered over with a rich veil, glittering with gold, which hung down on all sides so as entirely to conceal the figure beneath it. This bust was the bride. Across the middle of the room was a line of men, standing two or three deep, gazing in silence on the bride. Out of complaisance to our Frank customs, chairs were brought for our accommodation, and placed inside the line of men: on these we now sat down, and continued

Digitized by Google

for a long time to gaze in silence also. The bride now, for the first time, permitted her veil to be raised, but it was immediately again let fall. The short glimpse, however, shewed us a slight figure and a pale face, with an expression exceedingly joyless and pensive. She formed a strong contrast to the ladies on the divan, who, though silent or speaking in whispers, were in high spirits. They were all distinguished by glittering coronets of gold and diamonds, placed on the crown of the head, whence their hair hung down in the most beautiful and extraordinary profusion, sweeping the divan on which they were sitting. Their faces in general were lovely, their manners very modest but very affable, and no one was veiled or reserved but the bride. Refreshments were handed to us by two of the young ladies, who stepped from the divan for that purpose. They consisted of little glasses of red rosoglio, followed by spoonfuls of a sweet, white, consistent syrup, like flour and honey, and washed down by goblets of water, not very clear. The refreshment was accompanied by music: a groupe of musicians sat in a corner of the room, and played and sang appropriate songs. An open space was now cleared opposite the bride, and two embroidered mats were laid on it. On these were placed two enormous silver candlesticks, containing wax tapers of a proportionate size, and between them, a third enormous candle, without a candlestick, and singularly decorated. It was bound on the top of a white pole, and ornamented with festoons of ribands and gold tinsel. As it could not stand by itself, it was bound to the back of a chair, and placed directly before the bride. This candle was called the 'nuptial taper;' it represented the maiden state of the girl, and was to burn till that state expired, and she became a wife; it is then ex-

Digitized by Google

tinguished and preserved in her family, while the snuff of the wick is taken by the priest, who affirms that it is endued with many virtues. I did not expect to see the torch of Hymen thus lighted at a Christian wedding.

"The priest was now called forward to perform another important ceremony. A low table was placed near the nuptial taper; this was covered with a white cloth, or napkin, and the priest sat down at one end, attended by another Armenian, who was not a priest, to say responses. He took out of his bosom a small crucifix, and waving it several times in the air over the table, he uttered a benediction: he then began a prayer, and concluded with a psalm, accompanied by his assistant, in a very dissonant and nasal tone. When the psalm was over, we were curious to see what was under the cloth. It was lifted slowly up, and a large rich shawl appeared on the table, which was immediately taken, and ceremoniously wrapped round the bride. This was considered as one of the most important parts of the ceremony, and is called, 'blessing the nuptial shawl.' We now took our leave, and were invited to come again on the morrow, when the bride was to be conveyed to the bridegroom, who was all this time at Galata, a distant part of the town, being never suffered to approach the house.

"The next day, about three o'clock, the lady was led down in the same dress she wore the day before, and in addition to her ample veil, the consecrated shawl was wrapped round her, in such a way as absolutely to envelop her. An *aruba*, or Turkish coach, drawn by buffaloes, was waiting at the door: this consisted of a long platform of boards laid upon four wheels, and surmounted with a gaudy canopy of wood, carved and gilded. Into this the bride was lifted, wrapped up like a child in swaddling clothes going to be

Digitized by Google

christened. Her female friends, including the priest's wife, to the number of ten or twelve, sat round her so as effectually to conceal her person. The nuptial candle was borne on the shoulder of a boy, who walked before; and in this way the procession slowly moved to Galata, to the house of her husband, when, for the first time, he was permitted to see her face. The final marriage-ceremony did not take place till three days after, at which no strangers were admitted. Notwithstanding their very unpromising mode of courtship, marriage is generally a happy, or, at least, a tranquil state among the Armenians, and instances of conjugal infidelity are utterly unknown. As a religious people, they consider it as a most solemn engagement; and the disposition of the females, as well from nature as education, is so gentle, docile, and domestic, that the inclinations of the wife never stray beyond her house, her husband, and her children." *

"The chief Armenians of Constantinople are, as well as the Jews, money-brokers (*sarraffs*), and they receive a small premium for examining the coin in the many bargains which go through their hands. They also buy the specie when cried down and at a low price, and re-issue it in the loans with which they accommodate the Turks, at the exorbitant interest of between twenty and thirty per cent. This is the chief source of their wealth. Many of their corn-merchants are in good circumstances, and also their goldsmiths, as only a few of any other nation exercise that trade. There are Armenian surgeons, physicians, and apothecaries. The greater number of bakers are of their nation. They are the chief house-builders,

* "Account of the Armenian Christians of Constantinople, by the Rev. Robert Walsh, LL.D., late Chaplain to the British Embassy," in the Amulet for 1827.

Digitized by Google

masons, joiners, turners, braziers, and lock-smiths; and as porters, they shew themselves the most laborious, and perhaps, the strongest people in the world. Sixteen of them, eight before and eight behind, with their arms extended across on each other's shoulders, will carry a barrel of wine slung on four poles, throwing three hundred weight upon each man. They march in a quick lock-step, accompanying each pace with the groan of a pavior, and apparently in the last agony of exertion. The Armenians are also water-carriers, sherbet-sellers, boatmen, fishermen, silk-twisters, ribbon-weavers, and tent-makers, and are accounted the best farriers and horse-breakers in the country. As chints-printers and muslin-painters, they surpass most European artists, but the blocks and patterns are French. Previously to figuring their linens or cottons, they polish them with a paste of fine flour, and, as has been noticed by a contemporary traveller, they wash their printed calicoes in sea-water, to cleanse them from the gum used in preparing the colours. On the whole, the Armenians are the most industrious and useful subjects in the Ottoman empire."

According to Dr. Walsh, there are computed to be at present, in Constantinople and the adjacent villages, 200,000 Armenian Christians, of whom about 4,000 acknowledge the supremacy of the Romish See:* the remainder are nominally subject to the patriarch of

* The total number of this once powerful nation is estimated by Dr. Walsh at only 1,351,000; viz. in Armenia, 1,000,000; in Constantinople and the vicinity, 200,000; in Persia, 100,000; in India, 40,000; in Hungary and other parts of Europe, 10,000; in Africa and America, 1,000. This estimate, however, is probably too low. In a recent report of the German Missionary Society, it is stated that, according to the latest and most exact returns, the Armenian Church numbers, in the Russian provinces, 42,000 individuals; in

Digitized by Google

Constantinople; but his jurisdiction, as well as that of the Armenian patriarch of Jerusalem, is merely titular. The Armenian Church recognises the authority, in matters of doctrine and discipline, of only the four original patriarchs of Etchmeazin, Sis, Canshahar, and Achtamar. The other two patriarchates originated in the policy of the Turks, who, availing themselves of the religious prejudices of the people they subdue, nominate to these offices creatures of their own choice. On every new appointment, the Porte receives a large fine; and the patriarch then becomes the responsible agent in enforcing the *firmans*, and in collecting the *haratch*, or capitation-tax. The poor patriarchs of Constantinople, therefore, whether Greek or Armenian, are not held in much respect by their people, as they are frequently removed for the sake of the money which every new appointment yields, and are known to be the mere tools of their Turkish masters.

The Armenians of Constantinople are distinguished by a patriarchal simplicity in their domestic manners; "nor does the attachment of families," says the Rev. Dr. Walsh, "cease with this life. Long after death, they endeavour to hold a visionary communication with their parents and children." The practice alluded to forms one of the most singular customs that prevail among this singular people. In the vicinity of Constantinople, each nation has its own cemetery. That of the Armenians occupies several hundred acres on a hill that overlooks the Bosphorus. The Turks,

Turkey, 1,500,000; in Persia, 70,000; thus comprehending a total of 1,612,000 souls. But to this estimate must be added those in India and other parts, amounting to 50,000, besides the Armenian Catholics, who are not very numerous. The total may therefore be set down at 1,700,000.

Digitized by Google

on the death of a friend, plant a young cypress over his grave; but, although they have adopted this custom from the Greeks, no *rayah* is allowed to plant this tree. The Armenians, therefore, generally plant on these occasions, a terebinth or turpentine-tree,* the resin of which yields a strong aromatic odour, which serves to correct or to conceal the exhalations from the graves. These trees grow to a large size, forming very picturesque objects in the landscape, so that the Armenian cemetery, which is thickly planted with them, has a beautiful appearance; and from its elevated situation, and the view it commands, it is altogether a most interesting spot. "Here," says Dr. Walsh, "whole Armenian families, of two or three generations together, are constantly seen sitting round the tombs, and holding visionary communications with their departed friends. According to their belief, the souls of the dead pass into a place called *Gayank*, which is not a purgatory, for they suffer neither pain nor pleasure, but retain a perfect consciousness of the past. From this state they may be delivered by the alms and prayers of the living, which the pious Armenians give liberally for their friends. Easter Monday is the great day on which they assemble for this purpose; but every Sunday, and frequently week days, are devoted to this object. The priest who accompanies them, first proceeds to the tombs, and reads the prayers for the dead, in which he is joined by the family. They then separate into groupes, or singly sitting down by favourite graves, call its inhabitants about them, and, by the help of a strong imagination, really seem to converse with them. This pious and pensive

* *Pistachia Terebinthus*, supposed to be the *ail* or *ailon* of the Hebrews.—See Gen. xii. 6; xviii. 1; xxxv. 4; where this tree is designated by the word improperly rendered plain.

Digitized by Google

duty being performed with their dead friends, they retire to some pleasant spot near the place, where provisions had been previously brought, and cheerfully enjoy the society of the living. These family visits to the mansions of the departed are a favourite enjoyment of this people. I have frequently joined their groupes without being considered as an intruder; and, I confess, I have always returned pleased, and even edified, by the pious though mistaken practice.

"The island of Marmora lies almost within sight of this place, and abounds in marble; this stone is very cheap and abundant, and no other is used in erecting tombs. Some of these family mausolea are rich and well sculptured; others of them are very remarkably distinguished. The first thing that strikes a stranger, is a multitude of little cavities cut at the angles of the stone; these are monuments of Armenian charity. The trees abound with birds, who frequently perish for want of water in that hot and arid soil. These cups are intended to be so many reservoirs to retain water for their use, as they are filled by every shower of rain. The Armenians are fond of commemorating the profession of the dead; they therefore engrave on his tomb the implements of his trade, so that every one may know how he had gained his living. But the most extraordinary circumstance is, that they are also fond of displaying how he came by his death; you therefore see on their tombs the effigies of men, sometimes hanging, sometimes strangled, and sometimes beheaded, with their heads in their hands. To account for this extraordinary fondness for displaying the infamous death of their friends, they say that no Armenian is ever executed for a real crime; but when a man has acquired a sufficient fortune to become an object of cupidity to the Turks, he is then, on some

Digitized by Google

pretext, put to death, that his property may be confiscated; an executed man, therefore, implies only a man of wealth and consequence. This display is a bitter but just satire on Turkish justice, though the Turks are so stupid as not to comprehend it. I brought with me a worthy Armenian priest one day, who, with fear and trembling, translated for me the inscriptions on some of these tombs. I annex one as a sample:

You see my place of burial here in this verdant field.
I give my Goods to the Robbers,
My Soul to the Regions of Death,
The World I leave to God,
And my Blood I shed in the Holy Spirit.
You who meet my tomb,
Say for me,
'Lord, I have sinned.'
1197.

Notwithstanding this treatment, the Armenians are in higher favour with the Turks, than any other tributary people. They designate the Greeks, whom they detest, *yesheer*, or slaves, and consider them so; the Jews, *musaphir*, or strangers, because they came from Spain; but the Armenians, *rayas*, or subjects, because their country is now a province of Turkey, and they consider them as Asiatics, and a part of themselves. This favour is greatly enhanced by the wealth which the industry and enterprise of the Armenians bring to the impoverished and lazy Turks. They are, therefore, appointed to all those situations which the Turks themselves are incapable of filling. They are the masters of the mint, and conduct the whole process of coining money; they are the *saraffs*, or bankers, who supply Government and individuals with cash in all their embarrassments; they are the conductors of the very few manufactures which exist in the empire; and they are the merchants who carry on the whole in-

Digitized by Google

ternal trade of Asia. They enjoy, however, a perilous protection: the very favour they are shewn is a snare for their destruction; for every man that acquires wealth by its means, knows that he holds his life only as long as the circumstance is unknown.

"It is singular, that the Armenians have never shewn the slightest sympathy or common feeling with their Christian brethren the Greeks. No Armenian has ever yet been found to join their cause, or to assist it in any way, either by money or influence. Resembling Quakers, however, in many of their habits, they are, like them, a quiet, passive, sober people, and greatly averse to war. Besides this, there unfortunately exist some religious differences between them and the Greeks, which embitter their mutual feelings. The Greeks despise them for their timidity; and arrogating to themselves exclusively the name of 'Christians,' they seem to exclude the Armenians from the Christian community.

"The Armenians, though fond of religious books, have little taste for or acquaintance with general literature. They purchase with great avidity all the Bibles furnished by the British and Foreign Bible Society. Their patriarch sanctioned and encouraged a new edition of the New Testament, which the Rev. Mr. Leeves, the agent of the Bible Society, has had printed at an Armenian press at Constantinople; and I was encouraged to have a translation made into their language, of some of the Homilies of our Church, on account of the Homily Society in London, which I left in progress. They had early a printing-office attached to the Patriarchate, and another more recently established by a private company at Korou Chesme, in the neighbourhood of Constantinople. They have also a third, which was set up at the convent of

Digitized by Google

St. Lazaro, in Venice, whence has issued a number of books in their language. Their publications are, however, almost exclusively confined to books on religious subjects.* I obtained a list of all the books printed at the patriarchal press, from the year 1697, the year of its establishment, to the end of the year 1823. It conveys a better idea of the literary taste and progress of the Armenians, than any other document could do. In a space of a hundred and twenty-five years, only fifty-two books were printed, but, of each of these, several editions. Forty-seven of them were commentaries on the Bible, sermons, books of prayer, lives of saints, hymns, and psalters, and a panegyric upon the angels. The five not on sacred subjects were, 'An Armenian Grammar,' a 'History of Etchmeazin,' a 'Treatise on Good Behaviour,' a 'Tract on Precious Stones,' and a 'Romance of the City of Brass.'"

The use of the Armenian language at the present day is very limited, being exclusively confined to the people themselves; so that all Armenians are compelled to learn Turkish and French, or Italian, as a medium of communication; and they often understand these languages better than their own. Many Armenians can read and write both Turkish and French, who are unable to translate their own books. The Armenian Almanack, which is published annually, is distinguished by several peculiarities; in particular by the accuracy with which it points out the temperature of the air at certain seasons. They call the 6th of February, *Gemrëi evel behava*; i. e. the day on which the heat of the sun descends into the air; and the 25th

* Mouradjea D'Ohsson, the celebrated author of a French work on the Ottoman empire, was an Armenian by birth; he was drogueman to the Swedish mission.

Digitized by Google

of the same month, *Gemrëi solis filtoorah*, the day on which it descends into the earth. The interval between the 8th and the 17th of March, is styled *Berdouil adjus*, the cold of the old women; and Dr. Walsh states, that both before and after that period, the weather is usually very mild; but he remarked, every year during his residence at Constantinople, that at that precise period, a N. E. wind sets in from the Black Sea, generally attended by a drift of snow, and the thermometer sometimes falls to the freezing point.

THE FANARIOTES.

THE Greek population of Constantinople amounted in 1818, according to a census taken by the clergy, to 4900 resident families, comprising 24,500 individuals, besides 2350 strangers: total 26,850.* The name of

* See Essay on the Fanariotes, by M. P. Zallony, late physician to the Grand Vizier, in Swan's "Journal of a Voyage up the Mediterranean," (8vo. 1826) vol. ii. According to this calculation, the Greeks are far less numerous than the Armenians. "Of all the people who inhabit Constantinople," it is remarked, "the Greeks are the most scattered; which proceeds from this, that almost all the quarters hereafter-named, enclose orthodox churches built by the ancestors of the present Greeks; viz., the Petri-Capi, Fanar, Balata, Edirne, Capissi, Alty-Mermer, Psomathia, Wlanja, Yeni-Capi, Cuni-Capi, Princes' Island, Cadi-Kioy, Scutari, Cousconsuk, Yeni-Mahale, Bouyuk-bere, Tharapia, Yeni-Kioy, Balta-Liman, Yssari, Bebeki, Arnaout-Kioy, Couru-Chesme, Orta-Kioy, Beshiktashe, Galata, Pera, Tataria, Has-Kioy, Avas-Kioy, and Agios Stephanos." In consequence of one of the demands included in the Russian ultimatum in 1821, much inquiry was made into the number and condition of the Greek churches in the capital and its vicinity. It then appeared, that, in the city itself, there are twenty-four Greek churches and chapels; in the environs, as far as Phanaraki on the one side, and Agios Stephanos on the other, about thirty-eight: in Princes' Island, eleven: total, seventy-three or seventy-four. Of these, about sixty remained uninjured by the popular tumults.—WADDINGTON'S *Greece*, p. 11.

Digitized by Google

Fanariotes has been given to the principal families, on account of their occupying the quarter called the Fanar,* situated on the sea-side fronting the arsenal, where the European ambassadors used to reside, before they were excluded from the city by the jealous policy of the court. This part of Constantinople was originally appropriated by the Ottoman conqueror, as a residense for some of the family of Constantine. Here is still the palace of the Greek patriarch; and among the Moldavian courtiers, a faint image may yet be seen of the magnificence of the Byzantine emperors.† "It is in the Fanar," says the Hon. Mr. Douglas, "that we discover the purest remains of the ancient literature; and the patronage of its inhabitants has

* More properly Phanar, (by the French and Italians written *Fanal* and *Fanale*,) from *φανὰρι*, a light-house. The gate leading to this quarter, near the head of the port, is called *Fenar Capoussi*, the light-house gate. The present light-house, however, is on the side of the Sea of Marmora, between the two quarters called *Thatladi* and *Ahour Capoussi*.

† "We were made to step ashore on a mean-looking quay, and to turn into a narrow dirty lane; and I attained the acme of my dismay, when, arrived opposite a house of a dark and dingy hue, apparently crumbling to pieces with age and neglect, I was told that there lived the Lord Mavroyeni. . . . A new surprise awaited me within. That mean fir-wood case of such forbidding exterior, contained rooms furnished in all the splendour of eastern magnificence. Persian carpets covered the floors, Genoa velvets clothed the walls, and gilt trellis-work overcast the lofty ceilings. Clouds of rich perfumes rose on all sides from silver censers; and soon I found that this dismal outside appearance was a homage paid by the cunning of the Greek gentry to the fanaticism of the Turkish mob, impatient of whatever may, in Christians, savour of luxury and ostentation. The persons of the Fanariote grandees were of a piece with their habitations. Within doors, sinking under the weight of rich furs, costly shawls, jewels and trinkets, they went forth into the streets, wrapped in coarse, and dingy, and often thread-bare clothing."—ANASTASIUS, vol. i. p. 70.

Digitized by Google

supported the few men of genius who have of late appeared among the Greeks." Yet here, most travellers agree in stating, the Greek character exhibits the lowest degree of degeneracy; and the term Fanariote has been used as synonymous with sycophant and traitor. Their influence has been represented as fatal to the cause of the Greeks, although the aged patriarch was one of its first victims; and two of its most illustrious and disinterested champions, Demetrius Ipsilanti and Mavrocordato, are of Fanariote families. It is extremely difficult to obtain any thing approaching to an impartial account of the character of the Constantinopolitan Greeks. Among this class, (speaking from private information of the highest respectability,) may be found examples of every social virtue that can adorn human nature,—probity, hospitality, strict honour, purity of morals, and decidedly the most finished politeness and the highest tone of manners that are to be met with in any capital. Neither the Castilian nor the Parisian presents a finer specimen of the true gentleman, than the Constantinopolitan Greek. It is no wonder if with this should be mingled a love of pompous appellations and a scrupulous etiquette in distinguishing them, which are, in fact, very general throughout Greece. The title of *archon*, which is equivalent to noble, is universally applied to persons of family and distinction; * and the same kind of vanity has led to the substitution, among the Fanari-

* "Ανηρ Βασιλικος (a princely man) is the polite phrase for a man of fashion. Each of the patriarchs is addressed by a peculiar epithet, while the absurd superlatives Ευαγεστατος, Θεοφιλεστατος, Παναγιωτατος, (the most pious or most reverend, the most beloved by God, the most completely holy,) and many others, designate the various dignities of the Greek church."—Douglas *on Modern Greeks*, p. 166.

Digitized by Google

otes, of high-sounding family names, to which, by descent, they have little pretension, for their original patronymic. * But this aristocratic vanity, how unpardonable soever in the eyes of the republican, can with no fairness or consistency be imputed to the Modern Greek as a ridiculous peculiarity and the sign of servility and baseness, when it is recollected, that precisely the same distinctions, the same fondness for hereditary names, and the same feelings, are fostered by the institutions and manners of Christian Europe. A brief account of the origin of their political importance will probably be acceptable to our readers. †

* May not the adoption of ancient titles and heraldic bearings by newly ennobled families and many persons of obscure origin, be fairly considered as a parallel case?

† For the materials of the following sketch, we are indebted chiefly to the Essay on the Fanariotes referred to in a preceding note. We have found it necessary, however, to receive the author's statements with great caution. Zallony was a native of Tino, and both as an islander and a Roman Catholic, his prejudices against the Fanariotes would be scarcely less strong than those of an Osmanlee. He writes, indeed, in some places, like an enlightened and liberal man; but his work is avowedly an attack upon the Fanariote party, and it betrays in many instances the strong political bias under which it was composed. It was written in French, and appeared at Marseilles in the spring of 1825; and, as the Author's object was to advocate the plan of an hereditary monarchy as the best form of government for Greece, its publication was, probably, not wholly unconnected with the intrigues of the French party. Indeed, in some places, there is reason to suspect that the hand of a Frank has been concerned in the authorship. The influence of the Fanariotes is ridiculously exaggerated. They are accused of having made intrigue the soul of the Ottoman government; as if, previously, there had been nothing venal or corrupt in its administration! In one place, the Writer says: "In developing these plots which have proved so fatal to the Greeks, I have desired but to excuse the Turkish Government." Could a Greek have written this? Mr. Waddington, indeed, tells us, that "there are no bounds to the detestation in which a Catholic Greek holds an orthodox Greek; it is therefore that the former have taken no share in the

Digitized by Google

As the Turkish law prohibits every Mohammedan subject to learn any language in use among infidels, the Sublime Porte has always required an interpreter in carrying on its communications with the representatives of Christian potentates. At one period, Jews or renegades were employed as translators of the official papers presented to the Porte, in Greek or in Italian; but these were afterwards replaced by Fanariotes. The office of translator was not at first held in any high consideration. When a *grammaticos* or writer had finished reading to the minister the documents put into his hands, he retired, and remained in attendance among the inferior officers, until his presence was again required. It was in the reign of Mohammed IV., in the year 1669, that a *grammaticos* named Panayotaki, having ingratiated himself into the favour of the Grand Vizir Kioprili, by his services during the siege of Candia, was elevated to the new dignity of *Divan Terziman*, or Drogueman to the Divan, and had assigned to him a lodging in the palace, with permission to let his beard grow.* His successors in office obtained an extension of these prerogatives. They were permitted to dress *à la longue*, in every respect like the Osmanlees, with the exception of the turban; instead

insurrection, but have even deprecated its success." M. Zallony's apology for the Turks at the expense of the Fanariotes, looks too much like the same spirit.

* This extraordinary man, whose name is sometimes written Panagiotti, was born in the island of Scio. The Greeks have a proverb, that it is not more difficult to find a green horse than a wise man, in that island; and Panayotaki's abilities procured for him the appellation of the Green Horse. He is said to have been the author of a curious work in Romaic, printed in Holland, under the title of "Orthodox Confession of the Catholic and Apostolic Church of the East." He was a zealous defender of the faith of the Greek church; yet had much credit with the Porte. He died in 1673.

Digitized by Google

of which, they assumed a bonnet furred with ermine, such as is worn by the droguemans of European ambassadors. They were also authorised to ride on horseback, and to be attended by four domestics wearing *calpacs*, or furred bonnets,—a privilege till then unheard of for a Greek. The honours and advantages attached to this office, soon excited the ambition of the Fanariotes. To qualify them for being called to the service of the state, the children of the richest families were now carefully instructed in the Turkish and Italian languages, and when, after the fall of Venice, the Italian ceased to be the chief medium of intercourse, in the French. Subsequently, the Divan thought proper to create, for the advantage of public business, the additional post of Drogueman of the Marine. The ascendancy which these offices conferred was most powerful: their fortunate possessors ruled the destinies of their countrymen, and dispensed the favours of the Porte. And this influence they preserved up to the era of the Revolution. *

Not satisfied with the moderate revenues arising from their places, the Fanariote droguemans soon turned their ambitious views to the sovereignty of the provinces of Wallachia and Moldavia, which had hitherto been governed, according to treaty, by native princes. The treason of the unfortunate Bessarabba Brancovano in 1710, convinced the Porte, that the Wallachian boyars could no longer be trusted; and the only alternative seemed to be, either to convert the tributary principalities into pashaliks, or to confide them to the government of *rayahs* nominated by

* The important part which they performed in negotiations with foreign powers, was one main source of their influence. To his services in negotiating the peace of Carlovitz, Alexander Mavrocordato owed the elevation of his son to the dignity of voivode.

Digitized by Google

the Divan. In 1714, two days after Bessarabba's deposition, Stephen Cantacuzene, of Greek origin and calling himself a descendant of the Imperial family of that name, was, by the Sultan's order, elected to the voivodate. He remained in office only two years, and was the last Wallachian hospodar or voivode, whose nomination was attended by the formality of an election.* No prince of Wallachian or Moldavian birth or origin was ever afterwards appointed to the government of either province. To the representations and intrigues of the State Interpreter (Divan-drogueman), Alexander Mavrocordato, who was anxious to obtain one of the voivodates for his son, is ascribed the adoption of the policy which, instead of placing them under Turkish pashas, gave them Christian princes selected from the *rayahs* of the Fanar. It appears to have been thought, that the long established habit of obedience and servile degradation, would ensure their fidelity, and render them suitable tools for the new system. Being instructed to adhere to the plan of administration pursued by the native hospodars, they were suffered to hold a court, to confer dignities and titles of nobility, and to keep up a show of sovereign splendour; circumstances highly flattering to the vanity of the Greeks.† They were strictly forbidden, however, to

* Wilkinson's Wallachia, p. 31. Zallony states, that Constantine Mavrocordato, who succeeded his father Nicholas in 1740, was the last hospodar of Wallachia elected by the boyars. Thornton, on the authority of Cantemir, represents Cantacuzene as a person of obscure family, born in Wallachia, who assumed that illustrious name. A descendant of Bessarabba was still living a few years ago, and his possession of the landed property inherited from his ancestor, yielded upwards of 200,000 piasters annually. He was looked upon, Mr. Wilkinson says, as the first and richest boyar of Wallachia, and was acknowledged by the Court of Vienna as Prince of the Roman empire.

† The hospodar departed from Constantinople with all the

Digitized by Google

maintain or to collect troops upon any pretence whatsoever. Four places only were reserved for Mohammedans, viz. those of *divan-effendi*, or lord of the council in the hospodar's divan; *besheli-aga*, or high-sheriff in all affairs relating to Moslems; *mechter-bashe*, master of the music, in attendance on the person of the hospodar; and *bairactar*, or standard-bearer. The offices of grand treasurer or receiver-general, grand judge, and some others, were still left for the native boyars; but the greater part were given to the Fanariotes in the train of the hospodar, who, from the time of their nomination, took the rank and title of boyar. The same title is entailed by marriage with the daughter of a native boyar, upon the husband, together with all the privileges annexed to that rank.

Cantacuzene was recalled in 1716, to make room for Nicolas Mavrocordato, who was removed from the government of Moldavia to that of Wallachia.* This person was the son of the above-mentioned Alexander Mavrocordato, the successor of Panoyotaki in his office of State Interpreter.† On the death of Nicolas in September 1730, his son Constantine was

honours of a pasha, attended to the gates by a numerous suite of janisaries. His dress does not differ from that of the Grand Signior, except in the substitution of a bonnet of cylindrical shape, such as was worn by the khan of the Crimea, instead of the turban. It is of yellow cloth trimmed with sable.

* Nicolas Mavrocordato was named hospodar of Moldavia in 1709. He was recalled the following year, to make room for Demetrius Cantemir (or Kondemir), the historian of the Ottoman empire. On Cantemir's defection, he was re-appointed to the voivodate of that principality, from which he was removed to that of Wallachia.

† Alexander Mavrocordato is stated to have been the grandson of Scarlatos or Scarloti, who, in the reign of Murad IV., was purveyor of beef and mutton to the court. Mr. Wilkinson describes him as originally a petty merchant of Scio.

Digitized by Google

nominated to the principality, and he was the first Fanariote who set out from the shores of the Bosphorus, to take possession of the sovereignty of Wallachia. Scarcely was he installed, when he became involved in the consequences of the revolution which, in October of the same year, ended in the deposition of Ahmed III. He was arrested with his family, and his property was sequestered; but, in the following year, Sultan Mahmoud gave him his liberty, and reinvested him in his possessions and his principality. The character of this prince is very variously represented. "Some wise institutions," says Mr. Wilkinson, "attest the liberality of his views and a generosity of character not to be traced in any of his successors. But he was twice recalled, because he refused to comply with demands of the Ottoman Government, which appeared to him incompatible with the duties he owed to the Wallachians." M. Zallony, unwilling to allow any public virtue in a Fanariote, confirms this statement, at the same time that he disparages the merit of the prince. "The reign of Constantine Mavrocordato," he says, "has made an era in Wallachia, in consequence of the famous reform of 1730, to which they have affixed his name, and which perfected the slavery and ruin of this province. He established new tribunals, replaced some of them by military judges, deprived the boyars of the guards with which they were wont to be attended, completed the suppression of the national militia, and reserved only a small number for the civil service and for posts. Equally a bad financier and an unskilful politician, in place of fixing the principal weight of taxes on the productions and consumption of the country, he augmented the capitation, and farmed all the other contributions. Although the changes effected by Con-

Digitized by Google

stantine had for their object purely to increase his revenues, his reform embraced all parts of the administration, civil and military: every thing was subjected to the fiscal system. At first, it appeared that this prince had laudable intentions. He made public some good regulations; he abrogated certain imposts, and diminished others; *he reduced and fixed the quota of labour which a vassal should render to his lord; he even abolished the slavery of the peasants.* And yet, their number, which he found to consist of 147,000 families in the first census which he directed, was only 70,000 in the second, in 1745. Towards the sequel, it was reduced to 35,000, whether from the emigration of malcontents, or that many families obtained by the aid of money, the non-inscription of their names on the civil register. But when Mavrocordato beheld himself at different times despoiled of his principality by the cabals of his rivals, he no longer discovered much delicacy as to the means of maintaining himself in it; and his greatest fault was, his having augmented the tribute which Wallachia paid to the Porte on the occasion of the new hospodar, to 1,500,000 francs. This measure not only raised the misfortunes of the country to their height, but it was also the source of disgrace to its author. The Turks, interested in obtaining this sum as often as possible, have continually changed the hospodars. The people have only been the more crushed with taxes; and the princes, disgraced, are nothing more than the farmers of the Porte, removeable at will. None of them have done more injury to Wallachia than Constantine Mavrocordato. Deposed in 1741, re-established in 1744, dispossessed anew in 1748, restored in 1756, recalled in 1759, and named for the last time hospodar in 1761,

Digitized by Google

he was finally disgraced in 1763, and died a few years afterwards at a very advanced age." *

The intervals in the administration of Constantine Mavrocordato were filled up by no fewer than seven different hospodars; three of the family of Racovitza, and four of that of Ghika. Speaking generally of Constantine's successors, Mr. Wilkinson says: "The other princes, less scrupulous and more careful of their own interests, marked their administration by the most violent acts of extortion and an invariable system of spoliation. Few of them died a natural death; and the Turkish scimitar was perhaps frequently employed with justice among them."† Intrigue and bribery, however, appear to have had more to do in effecting these changes, than any considerations relating to public justice; and to prevent this scandalous abuse, Russia stipulated in the treaty of 1792, that the hospodars should remain in office at least seven years. This agreement was formally recognised by the Ottoman plenipotentiaries at Yassy; but, not being observed by the Porte, the frequent infractions of it became the subject of continual remonstrance on

* Mr. Wilkinson states that, within the ninety years extending from the appointment of the first Greek hospodar in 1710 to the end of the century, Wallachia passed through the hands of forty different princes, independently of the intervals (from 1770 to 1774, and from 1789 to 1792) during which it was occupied by the Russians or Austrians. This appears, however, to be a mistake, arising from the successive re-appointments of the same individual. Nicolas Mavrocordato and Cantemir occupied the station for the first twenty years of that period. Constantine Mavrocordato and seven other princes fill up the next three-and-thirty (twenty of which are comprised in the successive reigns of the said prince). For seven years of the period, the country was in foreign occupation, which leaves only thirty years unaccounted for.

† Wilkinson's Wallachia, p. 44.

Digitized by Google

the part of the court of Russia. In 1802, Prince Ipsilanti was appointed to the government of Wallachia, and Prince Alexander Morousi to that of Moldavia, on the express condition, obtained by the Russian minister, that neither of them should be removed previously to the expiration of that term, unless chargeable with any crime that the Russian minister should allow to justify their deposition. In 1805, however, the intrigues of the French ambassador procured the sudden recall of both the hospodars, without the concurrence of Russia; Morousi being replaced by Charles Callimaki, and Ipsilanti by Alexander Sutzo, a man who had always been opposed to the Russian interests. From 1806 to 1812, the principalities were in the occupation of the Russian armies. The treaty of Bucharest, which was conducted on the part of the Porte chiefly by Demetrius Morousi as state-interpreter, restored them to Turkey, with the exception of the country between the Dneister and the Pruth;* when Callimaki was re-appointed hospodar of Moldavia, and Yanco Caradja, of Wallachia. The latter having, after a reign of six years, acquired immense wealth, became an object of suspicion to the Divan; and in October 1818, information brought by a messenger from Constantinople, induced him suddenly to leave Bucharest with all his family, for Kronstadt, in the Austrian dominions. After his departure, the boyars petitioned that no more Greek voivodes might be sent them, but that the administration might remain in the hands of the divan. The Porte did not, at that time, however, think proper to listen to

* For consenting to this cession of territory, Demetrius Morousi was represented as a traitor in the pay of the Russians by the French party; and his head, as well as that of his brother Panayotti, was exacted as the penalty of a disgraceful negotiation.

Digitized by Google

the proposal; and Alexander Sutzo was re-appointed to the government.

In the mean time, Greeks continued to flow into the principalities from all parts; and they are represented as having gradually engrossed almost all the posts and privileged stations, and made themselves masters of the resources of the country, when the ill-planned revolt of the Hetarists, in 1821, drew down upon its authors and the innocent inhabitants the vengeance of the Ottoman Government.* The fourth part of the inhabitants, including almost all the boyars, are stated to have emigrated into Transylvania, Buchovina, and Bessarabia. Order being at length restored, two deputations of native boyars from their respective provinces, waited upon the Divan, to petition, in conjunction with the emigrants and clergy, for the re-establishment of their ancient privileges and national government. The result had been pre-determined upon; and in pursuance of the new system adopted by the Porte, the boyar Jouan Sauddoul Stourdza, descended from the most noble family in Moldavia, was invested with the government of that principality, while the boyar Ghika was appointed to that of Wallachia. This popular measure is stated to have been followed by a return of vast numbers of the refugees, and the provinces have been restored to perfect tranquillity, and to some degree of prosperity.†

* Mod. Trav., Greece, vol. i. p. 125.

† A writer in a French journal gives the following account of the state of the provinces in 1823. "Although the nomination of these princes, their installation, the return of the French and Austrian consuls, and the declaration of the Congress of Verona, were certain marks of the restoration of order and the maintenance of peace, nevertheless, the enemies of the country continued to spread over these principalities absurd reports. Quitting Bessarabia towards the end of February, I traversed Moldavia. The most perfect

Digitized by Google

The Fanariote system has thus been finally subverted, and the power of the Constantinopolitan Greeks is at an end.* In this, there is nothing to regret. But, in considering how far they are liable to the heavy charges of selfishness, treachery, and venality, which have been brought against them as a body, by Zallony and other partisans, it may be worth while to inquire, what portion of the community were implicated in the intrigues of the Fanar. The resident Greek population of Constantinople, we have seen, amounted, in 1818, to nearly 5000 families. Of these, a very few have attained to the envied distinction in question. "It is very true," says this writer, "that both the hospodariate and the droguemanate have been perpetuated in the families of Mavrocor-

tranquillity reigned there. There were no other Turks there than those who compose the guard, and whom they hope soon to replace by a national militia. The prince Jouan Stourdza enjoys the general affection and esteem. He is very popular. Without having solicited his dignity, he places his ambition in fulfilling the duties which it imposes. He know the wounds and the necessities of his country; and he labours without intermission for the re-establishment of public prosperity, encouraging agriculture, economy, and commerce, which begin to resume their activity. Confidence in his acknowledged justice has led to the return of all the emigrants, even of the Greeks, who, having given security for their conduct, enjoy liberty and all civil advantages. It is false, that they have been imprisoned or delivered to the Turkish authorities. I myself witnessed the return of the Primate of Moldavia: he was received with all the honours and respect due to his character and virtues. The majority of the boyars have already returned; the remainder are also preparing to do so, to range round a national prince so long coveted."—*Journal des Debats*, May 5, 1823.

* Zallony represents the Fanariotes as having lost three-fourths of their influence since 1821, but predicts, that the party will regain its power, because it has "ties of relationship with the policy of certain European powers," and its mediation is indispensable, so long as European ambassadors must confer with the Vizier by any other mouth than their own.

Digitized by Google

dato; Mavroyeni, who came originally from the island of Mycone; Ghika, of Albanian origin; Racovvitza and Voda, of Anatolia; Ipsilanti and Morousi, of Trebizond; Callimaki, a Moldavian; Sutzo, a Bulgarian; Caratza (or Caradja), a Ragusian; Canzerli, of Constantinople, &c. It is on these families that the destiny of Greece has rested. In esteem with the Divan, they represented, in some measure, the whole nation. They might have drawn upon it the favour of the Sublime Porte, and have softened the weight of slavery. As soon as the Ottoman Government had weakened itself by admitting a *rayah* into its bosom, a new fate presented itself to the Greek nation. From that period, this unhappy people has failed to find, among the members of these families, a well-intentioned man of talent. The Fanariotes have seen all Greece within the compass of the Fanar: out of it, they have said, they had no country. If it had been otherwise, would not the majority of the Fanariote princes, who have been, in their quality of drogueman to the Divan, called to conferences which introduced peace, have obtained, by little and little, stipulations favourable to their fellow-citizens?.....The choice which the Sublime Porte made of a Greek prince to govern Moldavia and Wallachia, demonstrates that it is not so intolerant as we might imagine, and that it was possible to obtain concessions in favour of the *rayahs*, and to bring back that moderation which signalised the first years of Greek dependence. But the princes of the Fanar have preferred sacrificing to Plutus, rather than to Minerva; and while the major part of the Greek nation groaned under the contempt of the sultans, they swelled into sultans themselves."

In these remarks, our readers will have a key to the complaints and invectives incessantly cast upon

Digitized by Google

the Fanariotes by the Greek patriots, and echoed by some of their partisans in this country. Yet, it is not a little singular, that, of the eleven families above enumerated as having engrossed the whole patronage of the Fanar, four appear not to be of Greek origin;* while to some individuals of these very families, the cause of independence has been indebted for its earliest and most illustrious champions. At the head of these, we must place Alexander Mavrocordato, a brief account of whose character and origin we have reserved for this place.

This accomplished man is descended in a direct line from his illustrious namesake, who, in the conferences at Carlovitz, rendered such important services, by his diplomatic talents, to the Porte; and he is consequently a member of the family which so long reigned in Wallachia. He was latterly employed under Prince Caratza when hospodar of that principality, and is generally admitted to have given proof of considerable talent in the administration of affairs as *postelnicos*, or secretary-of-state. When Caratza, to avoid disgrace or the bow-string, took refuge in Transylvania, Mavrocordato accompanied him to Kronstadt, and thence to Geneva and Pisa. His birth, education, and character would not permit him to remain an inactive spectator of the struggle of his countrymen in the Morea. He arrived at Marseilles in June 1821, and, after making a short stay in that city, sailed for the Peninsula, conducting thither a number of Greeks who had come from Germany, together with a considerable quantity of ammunition and arms. "Since that period," says M. Zallony, "Mavrocordato has never ceased to give unmeasured proofs of devotion to

* This appears to be the case with the Albanian boyar Ghika; as well as the families of Sutzo, Callimaki, and Caratza.

Digitized by Google

the cause of independence. He has not belied in a single instance the opinion I had formed of him. When I saw him at Marseilles, I thought I discovered a happy union of enthusiasm and reflection, blended with the most perfect courage and coolness. He permitted no sentiment of personal ambition, and still less of pride, to escape him. Thus, I do not believe that he himself assumed the title of prince, which modern historians have given him.* He has not adopted it in any of his public acts. It is wrong, therefore, in his enemies, to exclaim against the name of prince, which, under existing circumstances, seems granted to him by the gratitude of his fellow-citizens."†

* If birth conferred this title, Mavrocordato's claim to it would seem to be as good as that of any of the Fanariote princes: but it is acquired only by having filled the high office of first dragueman, or that of voivode. Mavrocordato appears never to have risen, under the Ottoman Government, to a higher station than that of *postelnic*, or secretary-of-state to a hospodar.

† For further details relating to the distinguished part taken by Mavrocordato in the Greek Revolution, see Mod. Trav., Greece, vol. i. pp. 149, *et passim*. His personal appearance is thus described by Count Pecchio. "His countenance appeared to me much handsomer and more animated than the pictures of him in London. He dresses *à la Française*. He speaks French with facility and elegance. His conversation is lively, agreeable, and full of wit, and he is very ready in his answers. He has all the talents requisite in a secretary of state, and understands and expedites business with readiness. His enemies, unable to deny his ability on this point, say that he handles the pen better than the sword." Mr. Emerson represents his appearance as any thing but dignified and prepossessing, his figure being small, and his manners, though easy, too polite; he even describes his countenance, so much of it as is visible through his bushy hair and eyebrows and curling mustachios, as having a childish expression; yet speaks of "the deep glance of his penetrating eye." Mr. Swan says: "His face is rather striking: he has a falling brow, cheeks full and ornamented with huge whiskers and mustachios of an intense black; his nose is large and curved, and generally surmounted with spectacles; but his looks do not indicate much ability. His voice is harsh and squeak-

Digitized by Google

A second exception is made by this writer in favour of Alexander Ipsilanti, whose military exploits had already distinguished him in the armies of the Czar, when he engaged in the ill-concerted enterprise of the Hetarists. He had lost his right hand at the battle of Culm, but he was desirous of employing the single arm that remained to him, in the deliverance of his country. "Ipsilanti," says this writer, "descends from the princes of that name; but he has never figured among the boyars of Constantinople, nor been tainted with their vices. His ancestors have even merited, in the bosom of corruption, the titles of just and generous. Many monuments, erected both in Greece and in the provinces, attest the benefit of their administration, their taste for the fine arts and for useful institutions." The character of Demetrius Ipsilanti is universally admitted to be distinguished by probity, honour, and disinterestedness.* The unfortunate Constantine Morousi, who fell a victim to the vengeance of the Porte in 1821, was a patron of learning, and a man of the most estimable and unblemished character.† In fact, the writer himself cautions his readers against drawing too gene-

ing." Col. Stanhope says: "I found him good-natured, clever, accommodating, and disposed to do good. He has an ingenious, rather than a profound mind. He seems at all times disposed to concede and to advance every good measure.... Count Capo d'Istria considers him as a man of great probity and finesse; qualities rarely found together, but very essential in his situation." "Of the organisation and consolidation of Greece," says Mr. Waddington, "it is, I fear, but too true, that our hopes mainly repose on him."—See *Picture of Greece*, vol. i. p. 158; vol. ii. p. 61. SWAN'S *Journal*, vol. ii. p. 29. STANHOPE'S *Letters*, pp. 15, 41. WADDINGTON'S *Greece*, p. 113; and BLAQUIERE'S *Second Narrative*, pp. 154, 6.

* See Mod. Trav., Greece, vol. i. p. 133, note.

† Ibid. p. 130, note.

Digitized by Google

ral inferences, admitting that some among the hospodars, who pursue the Fanariote policy, have not the less been men of merit at the bottom, and endowed with considerable knowledge. "The family of Mavrocordato," it is added, "has produced some virtuous princes, habituated to the management of affairs. The last of the Ipsilantis have been remarkable for their probity, information, and generosity. Mavroyeni was a person of much courage, and of a greatness of soul which almost approached to stoicism. The Morousis have been excellent diplomatists and skilful ministers. Doubtless it would have been more honourable for these men to renounce honours and riches, when they were to be acquired at the expense of justice and virtue. But sacrifices of this nature, when they could not affect the destiny of the people, would have no profitable result; and it was better for them that despotism should have been exercised by such moderate men, than by those who, for ever in extremes, are guided by no generous sentiment, and whom ignorance and cupidity invariably direct. They have at least discovered some liberality to their subjects; and their administration, more paternal and more enlightened, has spread over the provinces, benefits which they would never probably have obtained from those who might have reigned in their place."

This testimony to the merits of the most distinguished Fanariotes, will probably be thought to amount very nearly to a refutation of the charges previously brought against them. With regard to their administration as hospodars, it may be questioned whether the yoke of the native princes pressed less heavily upon the peasantry of those unfortunate provinces. At all events, the perpetual and arbitrary changes of the

Digitized by Google

governors by the Porte, must be regarded as the chief source of the calamities entailed upon the people. To the Greek princes, it is admitted that the Wallachians were indebted for some wise and equitable reforms in the administration; and the difficulties of their situation ought to be considered in appreciating their conduct and the character of their government.* As to their supposed want of patriotism, the charge of not

* These are admirably described in the language which the Author of Anastasius puts into the mouth of Prince Mavroyeni. "Now how am I to fortify my province against invasion without money? and without money, how am I to keep myself in my province? Without the sums necessary to raise soldiers and batteries, the Austrians march into Bucharest next month; and without the sums requisite to fee the Capitan-Pasha, the Vizier, and the Sultan, I am turned out of my principality next year. Let, then, my avarice light on the heads of my employers! With them, my generosity would be only my crime. Again;—as to cruelty; for what purpose, do you think, has the Porte made, in my favour, the hitherto unexampled exception to its rules, of joining the rank of a Turkish seraskier to the prerogatives of a Greek hospodar? For what purpose has the Porte allowed me to command in the field several thousands of Moslem soldiers, but for that of enabling me to avert the extraordinary perils that hang over this province, by extraordinary vigour! If I then find that, from all the various peculiarities in my situation, as a native of the Isles, as a stranger to the leaders of the Fanar, and as the Christian subject of a Mohammedan master, I have every body against me, as well within the very heart of my principality as beyond its boundaries; if I see the Greek who hates me as an intruder, the Valachian who prays for the success of the Austrians, and the Mussulman who looks down upon me as a *yaoor* and a *rayah*, all unite in wishing for my subversion; if I have to defend myself against the jealousy of the first, the treachery of the second, and the fanaticism of the last; if I know that the least lenity, considered as a weakness, will only encourage the audacity of my enemies, and hasten my ruin; and if I also know that with me must perish my trust:—is it not my duty to my sovereign and my province, to steady, by an extraordinary pressure, the jarring elements ready to fall asunder? And must I not, neglecting the petty forms of the law to do the speedier justice, wherever I can, pinion the suspected, paralyse the traitor, and cut off the criminal."—*Anastasius*, vol. ii. p. 290.

Digitized by Google

having attempted to obtain any concessions in favour of their countrymen, can apply only to the individuals who successively filled the high office of state-interpreter; and it is evident that their power was as limited as their situation was precarious. Some of these are admitted to have been honourable and patriotic men. Upon what grounds, then, are the Fanariotes held up to suspicion and obloquy as unworthy of the name of Greeks? Chiefly, perhaps, because all classes of Greeks, in modern as in ancient times, suspect and depreciate each other. Thus, the Roumeliots despise the Moreotes, the Moreotes the Hydriotes, and all three detest the Fanariotes; just as the Spartan mountaineers despised the Athenian merchants and the islanders. All that is still respectable in the Greek character, however, must be sought for, if any where, among the polished and well-educated families of the Fanar. To fix and define the traits of national character is at all times difficult; but, perhaps, the Greek has seldom been more accurately and happily portrayed, than by the Author of Anastasius, in a speech which he puts into the mouth of Prince Mavroyeni.

"You mistake, Anastasius, in thinking the Greek of Constantinople different from the Greek of Chios.* Our nation is every where the same; the same at Petersburg as at Cairo; the same now, that it was twenty centuries ago.....The complexion of the modern Greek may receive a different cast from dif-

* Mr. Waddington thus describes the Greeks of Ipsara. "The Psarians are genuine Greeks, with no admixture of blood, Turkish or Albanian. They have nothing in appearance or character which is not truly national. Ingenious, loquacious, lively to excess, active, enterprising, vapouring, and disputatious, they form a marvellous contrast with the solemn Mussulman."—*Visit to Greece*, p. 31.

Digitized by Google

ferent surrounding objects: the core is still the same as in the days of Pericles. Credulity, versatility, and thirst of distinctions, from the earliest periods formed, still form, and ever will form, the basis of the Greek character. And the dissimilarity in the external appearance of the nation arises, not from any radical change in its temper and disposition, but only from the incidental variation in the means through which the propensities are to be gratified. The ancient Greeks worshipped a hundred gods; the modern Greeks adore as many saints. The ancient Greeks believed in oracles and prodigies, incantations, and spells; the modern Greeks have faith in relics and miracles, in amulets and divinations. The ancient Greeks brought rich offerings and gifts to the shrines of their deities, for the purpose of obtaining success in war, and pre-eminence in peace: the modern Greeks hang up dirty rags round the sanctuaries of their saints, to shake off an ague, or to propitiate a mistress. The former were staunch patriots at home, and subtle courtiers in Persia: the latter defy the Turks in Maina, and fawn upon them in Fanar. Besides, was not every commonwealth of ancient Greece as much a prey to cabals and factions, as every community of modern Greece? Does not every modern Greek preserve the same desire for supremacy, the same readiness to undermine by every means, fair or foul, his competitors, which was displayed by his ancestors? Do not the Turks of the present day resemble the Romans of past ages, in their respect for the ingenuity, and, at the same time, in their contempt for the character of their Greek subjects? And does the Greek of the Fanar shew the least inferiority to the Greek of the Pirœus, in quickness of perception, in fluency of tongue, and in fondness for quibbles, for disputation, and for sophistry? Believe

Digitized by Google

me, the very difference between the Greeks of time past and of the present day, arises only from their thorough resemblance; from that equal pliability of temper and of faculties in both, which has ever made them receive, with equal readiness, the impression of every mould, and the impulse of every agent. When patriotism, public spirit, and pre-eminence in arts, science, literature, and warfare, were the road to distinction, the Greeks shone the first of patriots, of heroes, of painters, of poets, and of philosophers. Now that craft and subtlety, adulation and intrigue, are the only paths to greatness, these same Greeks are —what you see them!"*

"There is a national likeness observable," Mr. Hobhouse remarks, "in all the Greeks, although, on the whole, the islanders are darker and of a stronger make than those on the main land. Their faces are just such as served for models to the ancient sculptors; and their young men, in particular, are of that perfect beauty which we should, perhaps, consider as too soft and effeminate in those of that age in our more northern climate. Their eyes are large and dark, from which circumstance, *Mavromati* (Black-eyes) is a very common surname; their eye-brows are arched; their complexions are rather brown, but quite clear; and their cheeks and lips are tinged with a bright vermilion. The oval of their faces is regular, and all their features are in perfect proportion, except that their ears are rather larger than ordinary. Their hair is dark and long, but sometimes quite bushy, and, as they shave off all the hair on the fore part of the crown and the side of the face, not at all becoming. Some of the better sort cut off all their hair, except a few locks twisted into a knot on the top of the head. On the upper lip, they

* Anastasius, vol. i. pp. 78—80.

Digitized by Google

wear a thin, long mustachio, which they are at some pains to keep black. Beards are worn only by the clergy, the archons, *codja-bashees*, and other men of authority. Their necks are long, but broad and firmly set; their chests wide and expanded; their shoulders strong; but round the waist they are rather slender. Their legs are perhaps larger than those of people accustomed to tighter garments, but are strong and well made. Their stature is above the middle size, and their make muscular, but not brawny, round and well-filled out, but not inclined to corpulency. * Both the face and form of the women are very inferior to those of the men. Though they have the same kind of features, their eyes are too languid, and their complexions too pale; and even from the age of twelve, they have a flaccidity of person which is far from agreeable. They are generally below the height which we are accustomed to think becoming in a female, and when a little advanced in age, between twenty-five and thirty years, are commonly rather fat and unwieldy."

This Traveller goes so far as to assert, that he "did not see any very pretty Greek woman during his tour. .....If the present women, particularly of Athens," he adds, "are at all to be considered as the representatives of those of former times, their appearance will not make any one entertain an exalted notion of the beauty

* "The Roumeliots and the Suliots," says Count Pecchio, "are the finest and most robust race of men I have hitherto beheld. Their skin, always exposed to the sun, is literally the colour of bronze. Their breast is ample as a cuirass. Nature, besides, has gifted them with a rich head of hair, which they leave thick and flowing, and which would be much more beautiful, if they had not adopted the practice of shaving it off at the temples."—*Picture of Greece*, vol. ii. p. 44. The long-haired Greeks (Κάρηκομόωντες Ἀχαιοί) is one of Homer's epithets.

Digitized by Google

of the Greek ladies of antiquity.* Such of the women as I have seen from the islands of the Archipelago, with the exception of the Sciotes, are more plain than those on the main-land." Mr. Emerson confesses that he was disappointed in the beauty of the Grecian females. "They have beautiful black hair, sparkling eyes, and ivory teeth; but they seem to have lost the graceful cast of countenance which we denominate Grecian, and their figures are peculiarly clumsy, owing to their sedentary habits and slight attention to dress. A delicate and even sickly air, and an inanimate expression, seem their most striking characteristics. These, however, differ in various districts. The Moreote ladies are far inferior in personal attractions to the Roumeliotes, who again yield the palm to the Hydriotes and Spezziotes:† these are in turn excelled by the Sciotes; and the Smyrniotes, by their more

* Mr. Hobhouse is even inclined to admit the absurd hypothesis of De Pauw, that the celebrity and ascendancy of the Greek courtesans, arose from the rareness of female beauty. The superior cultivation bestowed upon their minds, and their general accomplishments, taken in connexion with the neglect and degradation of their sex, may better serve to account for their retaining, even to what in Grecian women is old age, their extraordinary influence. In countries where female beauty is no phenomenon, individuals have attracted scarcely less general admiration. No where, probably, is the Greek blood less pure than at Athens; and there is no part of Greece, Mr. Dodwell says, in which the females are so plain. "Their features are fine, but their complexions are pale, and their general appearance is characterized by langour and debility. Premature corpulence, proceeding from a sedentary and inactive life, is particularly conspicuous in the Athenian ladies. This corpulence, however, is an object of desire, rather than of aversion, as the symmetrical contour of a delicate shape is not much in unison with the taste either of the Greeks or the Turks."—DODWELL'S *Greece*, vol. ii. p. 24.

† The Hydriotes are an Albanian colony, but the women are probably Greek. Mr. Emerson elsewhere speaks of them as the most interesting, if not the most beautful females he had seen in the Levant.—See MOD. TRAV. *Greece*, vol. ii. p. 137.

Digitized by Google

civilised manners and graceful dress, are much more beautiful than all the others."*

The Hon. Mr. Douglas, however, draws a very different portrait of the Grecian female. "Though the delicacy of her form," he remarks, "is not long able to sustain the heat of the climate and the immoderate use of the warm bath, I can scarcely trust myself to describe the beauty of a young Greek when arriving at the age which the ancients have so gracefully personified as the Χρυσοστέφανος Ἥβη. Were we to form our ideas of Grecian women from the wives of Albanian peasants, we should be strangely deceived; but the islands of Andro, Tino, and above all, that of Crete, contain forms upon which the chisel of Praxiteles would not have been misemployed."†

The fact appears to be, that, in early youth, the Grecian Hebes are not less beautiful than the modern

* Picture of Greece, vol. i. p. 332.—See Mod. Trav., *Syria*, &c. vol ii. p. 169.

† The Rev. C. Swan, who, in his Voyage up the Mediterranean, visited several of the Greek islands, speaks of the women of Syra as presenting "models for the statuary." The wife of the vice-consul of Mycone had a face "nearly perfect," and, but for her "unbodkiced person," would have passed the severest test of beauty. A great variety of costume obtains in the islands. The women of Mycone "would not be disagreeable," says Tournefort, "were their habits a little less ridiculous: a dress lasts them their lifetime." Their short, stiffly-plaited petticoats, richly-ornamented corslets, embroidered aprons, and red or blue stockings, give them altogether a very grotesque appearance. The women of Milo bind the hair tightly with a white cotton handkerchief, and wear something like the Venetian boddice, of dark velvet, with a very short white petticoat. The costume of Crete is very different and more becoming, though Tournefort complains, that the deep plaits of their long, full robe of reddish cloth, conceals their shape, "which is the best thing about them." Those of Scio, however, are proverbially beautiful; and Count Pecchio speaks in high terms of the beauty of the Ipsariote women.

Digitized by Google

Ganymedes, and that the inferiority of face and form subsequently observable, is to be attributed to their mode of life, their luxurious and sedentary habits, and the different standard of beauty among Orientals. With the Turk, if not with the Greek, corpulency is the perfection of form in a female; and those very attributes which disgust the Western European, form the attractions of an Oriental fair. The universal use of all sorts of cosmetics, added to the relaxing effect of the warm bath, and their loose garments, (for the low zone is a useless ornament, neither confining nor supporting any part of the dress,) will sufficiently account for the early loss of their natural beauty.

The Greek women can seldom read or write, but are all of them able to embroider very tastefully, and can generally play on the Greek lute or rebeck. Most of them, Mr. Hobhouse says, are acquainted with a great number of songs, or recitatives, accompanied with tales, which are combined something in the manner of Sir Philip Sydney's Arcadia, and appear to have no end, being taken up by different individuals of the party for hours together. Whenever they have the opportunity of acquiring any unusual attainments, they evince great quickness of understanding. "At Constantinople and at Smyrna, where there are great numbers of them in the families of the dragomans and others connected with the consuls, ambassadors, and foreign missions, they speedily acquire the modern languages, and sometimes a partial knowledge of the literature and accomplishments which distinguish the females of civilized Europe. With respect to their moral character, it is what may be called amiable, and would appear very strikingly so to those of our sex who admire a woman for her weaknesses, and love her the more in proportion as she seems to call upon them

Digitized by Google

for support and protection. They are assiduous housewives and tender mothers, suckling their infants themselves; and, notwithstanding the boastings of travellers, I must believe them generally chaste. They have no other scope for the good qualities of either head or heart, than the circle of their family, and, whatever secret power they may possess, are never heard of as influencing any public transaction. A man may travel through Greece, and, unless at his particular desire, never see a Greek lady. Like their sex in all parts of the world, they carry their devotion to the highest pitch of enthusiasm, and more readily, if possible, than the men, believe all the absurd fables and dogmas of their church. Some of their superstitious observances savour strongly of paganism. The ceremonies at child-birth, where the attendant is always a woman, are very mystical. The lamp burns before the picture of the Virgin during the labour; and the cradle is adorned with embroidered handkerchiefs, jewels, and coins, as presents to the four fairies who preside over the infant. When the child is born, he is immediately laid in the cradle, and loaded with amulets." In their dread of the evil eye,* as well as in many other superstitious customs, there is a close conformity between the Greeks and the Ottomans; nor is it easy to decide, in all cases, with which nation they have originated. †

The manners of the Greeks, Mr. Hobhouse says, would be very engaging, were it not for an obse-

* See a curious account of this classical superstition in Dodwell's Greece, vol. ii. pp. 30—37.

† Whether the Turks have been infected by the Greeks with their superstitions, or brought their fables with them into Europe, they also have belief in these fairies, whom they denominate *gins*. See, for further details relating to the manners and customs of the

Digitized by Google

quiousness which, to the eye of an Englishman, has the appearance of insincerity. They are assiduously attentive, and perform the rites of hospitality with equal good humour and politeness. There is, moreover, an air of great kindness, and even of ceremonious attention, in their treatment of servants and dependents, which ought to rescue their politeness to superiors from the imputation of servility. If they are not without reason charged with the love of gain, they live in a country where riches afford the only means of advancement. "There is nothing," says Mr. Hobhouse, "which is not venal with the Turks." The Greeks, in fact, are a nation of traders, even the princes of the Fanar being engaged in merchandise; and the cultivation of the earth is left chiefly to Albanian colonists. But, if avaricious, they are not miserly, being not only fond of show, but profuse and generous. As merchants, their character is said not to bear a comparison with that of the Armenian, or even the Turk, in point of commercial probity and fair dealing; and *Græcia mendax* is said to be not less applicable to the country now, than in ancient times. Their political circumstances drive them to have recourse to perpetual artifice and fraud; and their religion, it is to be feared, is ill adapted to act as a moral restraint. Yet if, in this respect, the Levantine Greek is too nearly on a par with the Jew, it is among the lower classes chiefly that this want of honourable principle manifests itself.* How can a sense of

modern Greeks, and their resemblance to those of the ancients, Mod. Trav., Greece, vol. ii. p. 104; also, Douglas on the Modern Greeks, ch. iv.; Hobhouse's Albania, lett. 31 and 32; and Tournefort's Voyage, vol. i. lett. 8.

* The English are the last persons who ought to decry the mercantile character of the Greeks, if Mr. Hobhouse's statement is

Digitized by Google

national honour be expected to survive centuries of political degradation? Debarred the hope of rising in the state, (with the exception of the few posts open to the princes of the Fanar,) excluded even from the profession of a soldier, the law wholly in the hands of the Moslems, his church in a state of degradation, what wonder, it has been remarked, that the only passion which has a chance of being gratified, should predominate in the mind of a Greek; when, in countries where other paths to distinction are open, this is, with so many, the sole principle of action? What wonder that the riches of the individual should be the scale by which his merits are estimated? that to have πολλα, πολλα αργυρα, (or, as we should say, to be worth thousands,) is the criterion of an agreeable man; and that poverty and folly should be regarded as convertible terms?

This is, perhaps, not the place, even if our limits would admit, to enter into details relating to the state of modern Greek literature. Constantinople has (or had) two very large academies; but it is by no means the place where the purest form of Romaic is spoken.

correct, that, previously to the dissolution of the Levant Company, every British agent in the Levant but one, (except the mission at Constantinople,) whether minister, consul, or vice-consul, was a Greek or a Jew. "The salaries of these agents, who are all petty traders, are not such as to enable them to support themselves with any respectability as representatives of the British nation. The English vice-consul at Scio has about 12*l.* sterling a year; the French vice-consul at the same place, between 5 and 600*l.* The conduct of some of these vice-consuls is exceedingly disgraceful. The French seldom employ any but French agents, and these are settled with adequate salaries in every sea-port town, and in many inland places." To these miserable specimens of the Greek nation, to whom the British interests in the Levant were ignominiously confided, much of the opprobrium cast upon the Greeks is, we believe, attributable.

Digitized by Google

Nothing, Mr. Hobhouse says, can be more mixed and barbarous than the common dialect spoken by the wives and daughters of those principal Greeks with whom strangers consort, which is solicitously interlarded with French and Italian phrases: the priests, and the grandees of the Fanar, affect a greater accuracy. The modern Greeks delight in poetry, and very many among them evince a great facility in versification. Some amatory and bacchanalian songs are common to all parts of Greece, while others are local and fugitive. "A young man of any spirit," says Mr. Hobhouse, "who has been ill-treated by his mistress, anathematised by his priest, or beaten by a Turk, seldom fails to revenge himself by a lampoon." * The Greek music is plaintive but monotonous. A first part of some airs borrowed from Italian sailors, the first part of *Malbrook*, and even of "God save the King," are well-known tunes. It is said, that they cannot arrive at a second part. The men and women all sing, and all sing through the nose. The violin and three-stringed guitar are the usual instruments. All ranks are attached to singing and playing, not less than to dancing, and at some seasons appear to do nothing else." † The

* See, for specimens of Romaic literature, Sheridan's Songs of Greece, 12mo. 1825. Hobhouse's Albania, *Appendix*. Childe Harold's Pilgrimage, notes to canto II.; and Leake's Researches in Greece, 4to. 1814.

† This apparent fondness for music, combined with a deficiency of musical ear, is very remarkable. The Wallachian music, Mr. Wilkinson says, has some resemblance to that of the modern Greeks, but is more regular in time, and altogether more harmonious; its style, however, has hardly any variety, and it is uniformly in the minor key. The church music of the Armenians is represented by Dr. Walsh as "much more tolerable" than that of the Greeks. The best musicians in Turkey are the *chingianelis*, Bohemians, or gipsies, who, without knowing a written note, perform the German music with admirable correctness and precision.

Digitized by Google

arts are in a deplorable state. "It would be difficult," says this Traveller, "to find an architect, a sculptor, or a painter, equal to the common workmen in Christendom. At sculpture they make no attempt, and their paintings are chiefly gilded saints." Yet, the mosque of Sultan Ahmed was built by Greek architects; and in the useful arts, they cannot rank below the Portuguese.

We have dwelt, perhaps, too long, on the characteristics of this interesting class of the inhabitants of Constantinople, and must now proceed to the execution of a still more delicate and difficult task; that of portraying with impartiality the distinguishing features of their Turkish lords.

THE OTTOMANS.

In no instance which could be cited, would it be more unfair to judge of a people by the acts and constitution of its government, than in the case of the Osmanlies, or, as they are generally denominated, the Turks. It is, indeed, difficult, to explain, how, living under such a government, venal, corrupt, despotic, treacherous, remorseless throughout its whole system of administration, the people should retain so many social virtues as, by the concurring testimony of all our travellers, they are admitted to possess. "How do we trade among the Turks, and trust the Mahommedans?" inquires a writer at the beginning of the last century.* "They have obtained it by a just, punctual, and honourable practice in trade, and you credit them without scruple, nay, rather than some Christians." "Ingratitude," says Mr. Hobhouse, "is

* Harley's Essay on Public Credit, 1710, (reprinted 1797,) p. 17.

Digitized by Google

a vice unknown to the Turks, whose naked character, where it can be discovered through the incrustations of a defective system, displays a disposition which belongs only to those whom nature has formed of better clay, and cast in her happiest mould." The testimony of Lady M. W. Montagu on this point, who avowed that she would "rather be a rich effendi with all his ignorance, than Sir Isaac Newton with all his knowledge," will not carry much weight: the very voluptuousness and sensuality of the Turks, are the subject of her Ladyship's panegyric.* Nor is her account at all times very consistent. "It is very rare," she says, "that any Turk will assert a solemn falsehood;" yet, she immediately adds: "I do not speak of the lowest sort, for, as there is a great deal of ignorance, so there is very little virtue among them; and false witnesses are much cheaper than in Christendom, those wretches not being punished, even when they are publicly detected, with the rigour they ought to be."†

M. du Loir, who was at Constantinople about the year 1640, and understood the language, thus speaks

* "'Tis true, their magnificence is of a very different taste from ours, and perhaps of a better. I am almost of opinion, they have a right notion of life. They consume it in music, gardens, *wine*, and delicate eating, while we are tormenting our brains," &c. "The Turkish ladies are, perhaps, more free than any ladies in the universe, and are the only women in the world that lead a life of uninterrupted pleasure exempt from cares, their whole time being spent in visiting, bathing, or the agreeable amusement of spending money and inventing new fashions."—*Works*, vol. iii. pp. 4, 22.

† Ibid. vol. iii. p. 11. For the best description of the *harem* and the Turkish women, however, we must still refer to the lively, but warmly-coloured and exceptionable description given in her Ladyship's Letters. "However highly it may be coloured," remarks Thornton, "it is the only one certainly drawn from life." Russell (a much higher authority than Thornton) concurs in admitting its general accuracy, notwithstanding the suspicious recitals and occasional mistakes which the work contains.

Digitized by Google

of the national character: "The Turks are naturally a good people, which is not to be ascribed to the climate, for the Greeks born in the same climate have very different dispositions, and retain only the bad qualities of their ancestors, *viz.* roguery, treachery, and vanity. The Turks, on the contrary, priding themselves on their integrity and modesty, are distinguished universally by an open, ingenuous simplicity of manners; courtiers excepted, who, in Turkey, as every where else, are the slaves of ambition and avarice."

D'Arvieux describes them in very similar terms: "The native Turks and Moors are a good sort of people of themselves, and will not injure their neighbours, unless provoked; but their resentment is easily excited. They love strangers, especially the Franks. In commerce, they are shrewd but honest. In outward appearance, they are zealous observers of the law, but in reality licentious and dissolute."

Sandys, in 1610, sums up their character very bluntly: "A lasy people that work by fits, and more esteem of their ease than of their profit; yet are they excessively covetous. And although they have not the wit to deceive, (for they be gross-headed,) yet have they the will, breaking all compacts with the Christians that they find discommodious."* The only virtues he allows them are, great reverence for their parents and the aged, and alms-giving.

Another English traveller, Henry Blount, who appears to have had better opportunities of personal observation than his learned countryman, thus charac-

* It is remarkable, that Sandys speaks of bribery as "not known till lately" in the judicial administration of the divan.

Digitized by Google

terises this people.* "If ever any race of men were born with spirits able to bear down the world before them, I think it to be the Turk. He is in his behaviour (howsoever otherwise) the right son of Ishmael: every man's hand is against him, and his against every man.....Now, as the subtle use to be malicious, false, and superstitious, the timid incline to breach of promise, to base ways of revenge, and the like, (so) the magnanimous are apt to be corrupted with a haughty insolency, though in some sort generous. This is the Turkish way, remorseless to those who bear up, and therefore mistaken for beastly; but such it is not, for it constantly receives humiliation with sweetness. This, to their honour and my satisfaction, I ever found.....The only beastly piece of injustice I found among these Turks, was their confidence to catch up or buy for a slave any Christian they find in the country; nor can he escape, unless where he be a settled known merchant, or go with some protector.... This excepted, the Turkish disposition is generous, loving, and honest. So far from falsifying his promise, as if he do but lay his hand on his breast, beard, or head, as they use, or chiefly break bread with me, if I had a hundred lives, I durst venture them upon his word, especially if he be a natural Turk, no Moor, Arab, or Egyptian." After apologising for the "violent nature of the government," he adds: "To the better parts of their justice, I must attach the main disorder which defames it, that is, their insatiable covetousness." He refers also, repeatedly, to the "outrageous drunkenness" of the Turks.

Maundrell, who resided for some time at Aleppo, as

* He travelled in 1634. See Harl. Coll. i. 513. Pinkerton's Collection, vol. x. p. 282.

Digitized by Google

chaplain to the British Factory, and whose remarks are in general characterised by equal fairness and acuteness, has sketched the character of the Turks, in a letter to a friend, subjoined to his Journal. "I think," he says, "they are very far from agreeing with that character which is given of them in Christendom; especially for their exact justice, veracity, and other moral virtues; upon account of which I have sometimes heard them mentioned with very extravagant commendations, as though they far exceeded Christian nations. But I must profess myself of another opinion; for the Christian religion, how much soever we live below the true spirit and excellency of it, must still be allowed to discover so much power upon the minds of its professors, as to raise them far above the level of a Turkish virtue. It is a maxim I have often heard from our merchants, that a Turk will always cheat when he can find an opportunity. Friendship, generosity, and wit, (in the English notion,) and delightful converse, and all the qualities of a refined and ingenuous spirit, are perfect strangers to their minds, though in traffic and worldly negotiations they are acute enough.

"Their religion is framed to keep up a great outward gravity and solemnity, without infusing the least good tincture of wisdom or virtue into the mind. You shall have them at their hours of prayer, (which are four a day always,) addressing themselves to their devotions, with the most solemn and critical washings, always in the most public places, where most people are passing, with most lowly and most reverend prostrations, and a hollow tone, which are amongst them great excellencies of prayer. I have seen them, in an affected charity, give money to bird-catchers (who make a trade of it) to restore the poor captives to

Digitized by Google

their natural liberty, and at the same time hold their own slaves in the heaviest bondage. At other times, they will buy flesh to relieve indigent dogs, and yet curse you with famine and pestilence, and all the most hideous imprecations, in which way the Eastern nations have certainly the most exquisite rhetoric of any people upon earth. They are incredibly conceited of their own religion, and contemptuous of that of others, which I take to be the great artifice of the Devil in order to keep them his own. They are a perfect visible comment upon our Blessed Lord's descriptions of the Jewish Pharisees. In a word, lust, arrogance, covetousness, and the most exquisite hypocrisy, complete their character. The only thing I could ever observe to commend in them, is the outward decency of their carriage, the profound respect they pay to religion, and to every thing relating to it, and their great temperance and frugality."

Again, Sir James Porter, the British ambassador at the Porte in 1746, gives the following outline of the national character. "The Turks are, in general, a sagacious people: in the pursuit of their own interest or fortune, their attention is fixed on one object, and they persevere with great steadiness, until they attain their purpose. They appear, in the common intercourse of life, to be courteous and humane, and by no means void of sentiments of gratitude: perhaps some, or all these virtues, when extended towards Christians, are practised with a view to their own emolument. Interest regulates their conduct throughout. Where that becomes an object of competition, all attachment and friendship, all ties of consanguinity are dissolved: they become desperate; no barrier can stop their pursuit, or abate their rancour towards their competitors. In their tempers, they are rather hypochondriac, grave, sedate,

Digitized by Google

and passive; but, when agitated by passion, furious, raging, ungovernable; deep dissemblers; jealous, suspicious, and vindictive beyond conception; perpetuating revenge through successive generations. In matters of religion, they are tenacious, supercilious, and morose."

Lastly, Dr. Russell, physician to the British Factory at Aleppo, from 1740 to 1755, thus sums up his observations on the Turkish inhabitants. "The Osmanli, though rather solemn in their ordinary deportment, may justly be reckoned courteous and polite. In conversation with inferiors, even with Christians and Jews, they can assume an easy, affable manner; but, when irritated by contradiction, they are impetuous in their gesture, they elevate their voice, and indecently descend to the most scurrilous language. In the presence of superiors, they are attentive, silent, and submissive; no provocation almost whatever, can make them forget the respect they owe, or disconcert the seeming steadiness of their temper: they feel, but conceal their emotion. It is an habitual power of controlling the passions, to be acequired only by practice, and consequently is possessed in different degrees, proportionate to the occasions which individuals, in the progress of life, may have had for exercising it. The Osmanli of middle age, who have risen slowly from obscurity to eminent stations, possess this talent in a high degree.

"The moral virtues of the Turks have, perhaps, been extolled with not less partiality by some, than injuriously depreciated by others. . . . The simpler virtues are, in no climate, reckoned the natural growth either of great cities or of maritime towns. Yet, the Turks, who are scarcely known to the Euro-

Digitized by Google

peans in any other situation, * have been branded with vices and crimes, as if such were the genuine offspring of their religious constitution, though, under similar circumstances, those are uniformly found in every part of the globe. Whether political character differs essentially in different countries, is best known to those who have been practised in courts, and are versed in negotiations; but the commercial character of different nations probably admits of less variety. The Turks, in their commercial dealings, are seldom charged with dishonesty, but are often taxed, by the Europeans, with conducting all their transactions on the narrow principles of self-interest. . . . An eager thirst for gain, consummate art, a readiness to seize every legal advantage, together with a large share of dissimulation, are among the qualities liberally ascribed to the Turks. . . . It may be added, that, in politics, the Turks are assiduous, venal, and vindictive; in private life, indolent; not averse, but indifferent to literature; temperate in diet, but addicted to voluptuousness; and habitually, if not naturally grave, or, at least, little given to intemperate mirth." †

With regard to the imputation of barbarism cast upon the Turks, on the ground of their tasteless destruction of the ancient monuments, Mr. Dodwell attempts to extenuate their conduct by remarking, that they are not singular in this respect. "The same system has been pursued by a people who have made no small parade of their taste for the fine arts, which,

* "In the Turkish villages, where there is no mixture of Greeks, innocence of life and simplicity of manners are conspicuous, and roguery and deceit are unknown."—THORNTON, vol. ii. p. 196.

† Russell's History of Aleppo, vol. i. pp. 223—8. In the notes will be found the citations from Du Loir, D'Arvieux, Maundrell, and Porter.

Digitized by Google

as they imagine, flourish more luxuriantly in their soil, than in other countries. I allude (he says) to Italy in general, and to Rome in particular. This boasted cradle of the fine arts, has produced so many glaring instances of stupid barbarism, which cannot be exceeded by Turkish insensibility, that their enumeration would occupy too great a space in this volume. There is great similarity in the devastations committed in the two countries: the Turks have nothing in common with ancient Greece, nor have the inhabitants of modern Rome any kindred affinities with the ancient glory of that city." *

From these concurrent testimonies, we may safely deduce the general conclusion, that the Turk is distinguished from other races, by nothing so much as by his phlegmatic temperament, which generally disposes him to quiescence and indolence, and admits of many of the passive virtues, but which, under the influence of any powerful excitement, passes from insensibility into the most unrestrained violence and excess. This habitual sedateness and inertness, in combination with a latent energy, may serve to explain some of the inconsistencies in the national character and history. The Turk is habitually temperate: he never tastes the forbidden juice, however, but he gets drunk. He is mild and grave, but when provoked, he is infuriated. He has little fanaticism, but when his religious fervour is kindled, it becomes a brutal frenzy. † He is not habitually cruel; he is sometimes generous and humane; but he is of all men the most

* Dodwell's Greece, vol. i. 327. The Turks, in fact, only completed the destruction which the Goths and the Crusaders had begun.

† See the account of the Mendicant and Howling Dervishes in Hobhouse, pp. 925—34.

Digitized by Google

remorseless in his cruelty. He will not luxuriate in the agonies of an enemy, and trample upon his victim; he has little taste for the more exquisite refinements of revenge: in this respect, notwithstanding some doubtful anecdotes, he displays less of the demon in his worst excesses, than either Frank or Greek. But then he butchers with less compunction, and with a more entire contempt for human life: his eye never pities, and his heart never bleeds. Age or sex excites no commiseration in him, who, on slight provocation or from policy, dooms the wife of his bosom to the death of a cat, and his children to the bowstring.* The same insensibility displays itself in the smooth-faced perfidy with which he can inveigle, in order to destroy, his unsuspecting victim—perhaps his old associate or guest. In fact, alike in his pleasures and in his cruelties, the Turk is a cold-blooded animal, coldly voluptuous, and coldly cruel; deliberate alike in good and in evil; less to be dreaded when choleric, than when concealing his emotions; not intolerant,—far less so, as a Moslem, than either Greek or Papist; not ungrateful, not inhospitable; not unkind to his dependents; not incapable of generosity and amiableness; but naturally arrogant, sensual, and implacable; knowing no medium between the despot and the slave;

* The transactions of courts are not always fair specimens of national character, but there is no reason to suppose that the policy of the Seraglio is at variance with public feeling. "More severe," says Sandys, "are these tyrants to their own, who lop all these branches from the bole, the unnatural brother solemnizing his father's funeral with the slaughter of his brothers: so fearful are they of rivalry, and so damnably politic, making all things lawful that may secure the perpetuity of their empire." Private murders, however, are committed with as little ceremony or compunction, and excite no legal inquiry. "Murder is never pursued by the king's officers, as with us," says Lady M. W. Montagu. (vol. iii. p.)

Digitized by Google

too generally a hypocrite in all things,—so much so as to please the Frank whom he despises; in a word, exhibiting, more or less, the deadening and debasing effects of a despotic government, oriental prejudices, and a pharisaical and sensual creed. *

One redeeming feature in the Turkish character demands, however, to be adverted to. "No one," remarks Mr. Hobhouse, "has written on the character of this nation, without noticing the reciprocal affection of the mother and the children in a Turkish family; and this feeling, tender in the one, respectful in the other, and constant and indissoluble in both, must of itself secure for the women, a happiness which the artificial regulations of European society have, perhaps, a tendency to interrupt and to annihilate. The *Valide*, or Sultan-mother, possesses a maternal power, and has sometimes exercised an unpropitious influence over the Grand Signior himself. The law which forbids the Mussulman to weep for the dead, still allows the mother to weep three days over the tomb of her son. The woman has an absolute control in her own household, and enjoys a domestic power which, among ourselves, it is often the fruitless aim and labour of a whole life to attain. Though the *benden dosol*, or two words of divorce, can dissolve a mar-

* Thornton, in his attempt to describe with impartiality the character of the Turks, absurdly represents it as a composition of contradictory qualities. "We find them brave and pusillanimous, gentle and ferocious, resolute and inconstant, active and indolent; passing from the rigour of morality to the grossness of sense; at once delicate and coarse, fastidiously abstemious and indiscriminately indulgent. The great are alternately haughty and humble, arrogant and cringing, liberal and sordid; and in general, it must be confessed, that the qualities which least deserve our approbation predominate." Vol. i. p. 4. So far as there is truth in this paradoxical statement, it will serve to confirm our representation.

Digitized by Google

riage, they cannot deprive the wife of her portion, which remains at all times, and under every circumstance, inviolable."—Without stopping to inquire which are the more "artificial regulations," those of European or those of Asiatic society, or whether the reciprocal affection of the mother and her children is less strong in England than in Turkey,—the fact, that maternal and filial affection are found to prevail among this people, must be allowed to have its weight in estimating their national character. What that character might become under the genial influence of a just government, wise and equal laws, science and literature, and above all, the light of Christian knowledge, remains to be ascertained.

With regard to their treatment of the female sex, the Osmanlees only adhere to the usages and institutions of most of the ancient and oriental nations. The ladies of Athens, Mr. Hobhouse remarks, were confined as rigorously as those of a Turkish harem. The Theban ladies, when in public, shewed no part of their faces but the eyes. And in the time of the Greek empire, the females were so secluded, that the higher classes never went abroad except in covered litters.* The beard,† the loose robe, the recumbent posture, and the use of the bath, distinguished the old inhabitants of Italy and Greece, not less than those of Asia. "The

* See authorities in Hobhouse, Letter xliv.

† "This distinction of manhood was universally worn by the first Greeks and Romans, as it was in early periods by all the Turks. It did not begin to be left off at Athens, until the time of Demosthenes; and no man was seen without one at Rome, before the year of the city 454. The beard was again introduced by Hadrian; and although Julian was ridiculed on that account at Antioch, it was worn by all the generals of Justinian, and by every person of any rank among the Greeks to the latest period of the empire."—Hobhouse, p. 841, note. "Among the Moslems, slaves are not

Digitized by Google

Byzantine ceremonies were, some of them, borrowed from those of the court of Persia; and the Frank who witnesses the audience of an ambassador at the Seraglio, may fancy himself another Luitprand at the Court of Nicephorus Phocas, astonished by the obscure splendour and mysterious magnificence of the Imperial Greek."*

suffered to let their beards grow; this appendage, therefore, is a sign of freedom, and generally marks official dignity. When once it has been suffered to grow, it is thought indecorous and almost profane again to shave it."—See ANASTASIUS, vol. ii. p. 54, and note. Among some of the German nations, on the contrary, Tacitus states, that no one was allowed to cut off his beard until he had killed an enemy. The Lombards (*Longobardi*) received their name from the singularity of wearing this appendage. Mr. Hobhouse supposes that the Frankish nations who adopted it, borrowed it from the Asiatics. The professors of the University of Paris wore beards till forbidden by edict, in 1534: in England, the habit prevailed much later. The Greek and Roman Churches have long been at issue on this important article. The latter have made some express constitutions *de radendis barbis*, while the Greeks espouse very zealously the cause of long beards, and are extremely scandalized at the beardless images of saints in the Romish churches.

* In Turner's Tour in the Levant, (vol. i. p. 53,) an account is given of the British ambassador's audience of the Sultan; but the narrative does not impress the reader with any very lively idea of Ottoman magnificence. From the garden, after being arrayed in pelisses, the ambassador and his suite were led through an outer hall and a room splendidly furnished with a carpet richly worked with gold, in which were drawn up about two hundred white eunuchs in lines three deep. The throne room (of which D'Ohsson has given an accurate drawing) is very small: all the rooms appear to be far from large. The Sultan was sitting at one end of it, on a throne formed like a four-post bed, and superbly decorated. The seat, of black velvet, was covered with strings of fine pearls; and from the top were suspended many ostrich eggs, gilt, and scattered with diamonds. The Sultan wore a turban surmounted with a splendid diamond aigrette and feather; his pelisse was of the finest silk, lined with the most valuable sable, and his girdle was one mass of diamonds. The deadly paleness of his face was strongly contrasted with the deep blackness of his ample beard. The ambassador recited his speech in French, which the state-dragoman

Digitized by Google

Among the minor customs and usages in which a striking contrariety is observable to those of Western Europe, may be enumerated the following. The abhorrence of the hat is well known; but the uncovering of the head, which with us is the expression of respect, is by them considered as disrespectful and indecent. A Quaker would give no offence by keeping on his hat in a mosque, if he left his shoes at the threshold. The Turks turn in their toes; they mount on the right side of the horse; they follow their guests into a room, and precede them on leaving it; the left hand is the place of honour; they do the honours of the table by serving themselves the first; they take the wall and walk hastily in sign of respect; they beckon by throwing back the hand, instead of drawing it towards them; they cut the hair from the head, and remove it from the body, but leave it on the chin; they sleep in their clothes; they look upon beheading as a more disgraceful punishment than strangling; they deem our close and short dresses indecent, our shaven chins a mark of effeminacy or servitude; they resent an inquiry after their wives as an insult; they eschew pork as an abomination; they regard dancing as a theatrical performance, only to be looked at, except by slaves; lastly, their mourning habit is white; their sacred colour is green, and their holy day is Friday.

Many of these usages are not peculiarly Turkish, any more than their costume, or their writing from left to right. The Turks are great smokers and coffee-

translated; and the reply, delivered by the Kaimakam, was rendered into French by the same interpreter. The Sultan scarcely moved, and only turned his head twice, but his eyes were very busy. All the attendants stood immoveable, their hands before them, and their eyes fixed on the ground.

Digitized by Google

drinkers; yet, neither of these practices can be ranked among their national characteristics. Coffee was not introduced into Arabia earlier than the middle of the fifteenth century, and it did not reach Constantinople till a century later. The lawfulness of using it was for a long time a question among the Moslems. Tobacco found its way to France from the New World about the year 1560; into England in 1586; into Turkey, not till the beginning of the seventeenth century.* "The Turks," says Dr. Russell, "probably received the custom of smoking through water from Persia; that of smoking in the ordinary way, they certainly had from Europe; and it is a curious circumstance in the history of human luxury, that a practice so disagreeable at first, and accompanied with so little positive sensual pleasure, should afterwards have spread with such rapidity among a people not much disposed to adopt foreign customs." It is now the delight of both sexes.

Their funereal customs have already been adverted to. Interment almost immediately follows upon the decease of the person; a practice common to all classes

* See Russell's Aleppo, vol. i. pp. 119—126, and notes 28 and 29; where will be found much curious information and a reference to authorities. The first English traveller who notices the practice of smoking tobacco in Turkey, is Sandys. After remarking that they are incredible takers of opium, "which, they say, expelleth all fear," he adds: "They also delight in tobacco, which they take through reeds that have joined unto them great heads of wood to contain it; I doubt not but lately taught them, as brought them by the English. And were it not sometimes looked into, (for Morat Bassa not long since commanded a pipe to be thrust through the nose of a Turk, and so to be led in derision through the city,) no question but it would prove a principal commodity. Nevertheless, they will take it in corners, and are so ignorant therein, that that which in England is not saleable, doth pass here among them for most excellent."

Digitized by Google

at Constantinople. The corpse is carried to the grave on a bier by the friends of the deceased: this is considered as a religious duty, it being declared in the Koran, that he who carries a dead body the space of forty paces, procures for himself the expiation of a great sin.* The graves are shallow, and thin boards only, laid over the corpse, protect it from the immediate pressure of the earth, which is set with flowers, according to the custom of the Pythagoreans,† and a cypress-tree is planted near every new grave. As a grave is never opened a second time, a vast tract of country is occupied with these burial-fields, which add by no means to the salubrity of the vicinity. Much is gained, unquestionably, as regards the health of the inhabitants, by burying without the cities; but the shallowness of the graves contributes to render these vast accumulations of animal dust, at certain seasons more especially, a source of pestilential miasmata. The cemeteries near Scutari are immense, owing to the predilection which the Turks of Europe preserve for being buried in Asia,—that quarter of the world

* Mr. Hobhouse has pointed out some remarkable points of similarity between the funereal customs of the Greeks and those of the Irish; in particular, the howling lament, the interrogating the corpse, "Why did you die?" and the wake and feast. "But a more singular resemblance," he adds, "is that which is to be remarked between a Mahommedan and an Irish opinion relative to the same ceremony. When a dead Musculman is carried on his plank towards the cemetery, the devout Turk runs from his house as the procession passes his door, for a short distance relieves one of the bearers of the body, and then gives up his place to another, who hastens to perform the same charitable and holy office. No one who has been in Ireland, but must have seen the peasants leave their cottages or their work, to give a temporary assistance to those employed in bearing the dead to the grave; an exertion by which they approach so many steps nearer to Paradise."—Letter xxii.

† "*Dii majorum umbris tenuem et sine pondere terram*
Spirantesque crocos, et in urna perpetuum ver." PERSIUS.

Digitized by Google

in which are situated the holy cities, Mecca, Medina, Jerusalem, and Damascus. The vivid description which the Author of Anastasius gives of this extraordinary spot, must close our account of the manners and customs of the Osmanlees.*

"A dense and motionless cloud of stagnant vapours ever shrouds these dreary realms. From afar, a chilling sensation informs the traveller that he approaches their dark and dismal precincts; and as he enters them, an icy blast, rising from their inmost bosom, rushes forth to meet his breath, suddenly strikes his chest, and seems to oppose his progress. His very horse snuffs up the deadly effluvia with signs of manifest terror, and, exhaling a cold and clammy sweat, advances reluctantly over a hollow ground, which shakes as he treads it, and loudly re-echoes his slow and fearful step. So long and so busily has time been at work to fill this chosen spot,—so repeatedly has Constantinople poured into this ultimate receptacle almost its whole contents,—that the capital of the living, spite of its immense population, scarcely counts a single breathing inhabitant for every ten silent in-

* For further details relating to the religion and some of the customs of the Turks, see Mod. Trav., Arabia, pp. 84—6. Ibid. Palestine, p. 116. Ibid. Syria, vol. i. pp. 287—290; vol. ii. pp. 44—50, 115, &c. Also, Thornton's Turkey, vol. ii. ch. 7 and 8. Russell's Aleppo, vol. i. b. 2. Lady M. W. Montagu's Letters, vols. ii. and iii. Tournefort, vol. ii. letter 7. Turner's Tour in the Levant. Dallaway's "Constantinople, Ancient and Modern." Sir Paul Ricaut's "Present State of the Turkish Empire." De Tott's Memoirs; and D'Ohsson's *Tableau Général*, &c. The works of Busbequius and Rieland need not be recommended to the learned reader. Thornton has exposed many of the mis-statements and exaggerations of De Tott, whose object appears to have been, to blacken as much as possible the Turkish character, in which he has been imitated by Eton. D'Ohsson is their equally partial apologist and panegyrist.

Digitized by Google

mates of this city of the dead. Already do its fields of blooming sepulchres stretch far away on every side, across the brow of the hills and the bend of the valleys; already are the avenues which cross each other at every step in this domain of death, so lengthened, that the weary stranger, from whatever point he comes, still finds before him many a dreary mile of road between marshalled tombs and mournful cypresses, ere he reaches his journey's seemingly receding end; and yet, every year does this common patrimony of all the heirs to decay, still exhibit a rapidly increasing size, a fresh and wider line of boundary, and a new belt of young plantations, growing up between new flower-beds of graves.

"There, said I to myself, lie, scarcely one foot beneath the surface of a swelling soil, ready to burst at every point with its festering contents, more than half the generations whom death has continued to mow down for nearly four centuries in the vast capital of Islamism. There lie, side by side, on the same level, in cells the size of their bodies, and only distinguished by a marble turban somewhat longer or deeper—somewhat rounder or squarer,—personages, in life, far as heaven and earth asunder, in birth, in station, in gifts of nature, and in long laboured acquirements. There lie, sunk alike in their last sleep,—alike food for the worm that lives on death,—the conqueror who filled the universe with his name, and the peasant scarcely known in his own hamlet; Sultan Mahmoud, and Sultan Mahmoud's perhaps more deserving horse;* elders bending under the weight of years, and infants of a single hour; men with intellects of angels, and

* "Sultan Mahmoud's horse was actually interred in the cemetery of Scutari, under a dome supported by eight pillars."

Digitized by Google

men with understandings inferior to those of brutes; the beauty of Georgia and the black of Sennaar; visiers, beggars, heroes, and women."

It only remains briefly to notice a fourth class of the inhabitants of Constantinople,—that ubiquitous and every where oppressed and despised people,

THE JEWS.

"THE Jews of Constantinople," Mr. Hobhouse says, "have all the usual characteristics of their nation: the more considerable among them are brokers and money-changers, jewellers, physicians, surgeons, and apothecaries; the lower classes are sherbet-sellers, silk-twisters, druggists, boatmen, fishermen, confectioners, perfumers, tobacco-sellers, and mountebanks. The bankers of many of the Turkish grandees are Jews, and some of them have been involved in the fall of their employers; but this circumstance, and the address shewn by them in the management of all pecuniary concerns, give their principal people a consideration in the eyes of the Turks equal to that of any other subjects; although the common Turks, and more especially the Christians, affect to treat and talk of them with every mark of contempt and disgust. They are distinguished by a high square cap of black felt, without any rim or border. The lower classes are dirty, both in their persons and dwellings. Ballata, the Jew quarter, is the most filthy of any in the capital, and not less nauseous than in the days of Christian Constantinople, when the tanners used to empty their pans before the doors of the houses inhabited by this persecuted people. The wise tolerance of the Turks has produced a great increase of this part of the population since the last conquest of the city. In

Digitized by Google

the twelfth century, when the *Jew of Tudela* travelled, he found only a thousand of his countrymen in the place; and in the reign of Andronicus the Elder, the Patriarch Athanasius represented, in a formal petition to the Emperor, that the whole nation ought to be banished from the metropolis. In the middle of the seventeenth century, a traveller was persuaded that there were between 20 and 30,000 of that *accursed* and *contemptible* people in the city; and the smallest computation would rate them now at fifteen."

The taxes levied on the Jews are not greater than those paid by the other rayahs, and they feel the burden of them the less, by being allowed a *tefterdar*, or treasurer of their own, who collects the whole sum, and settles with the ministers of the Porte. "Custom and precedent," Mr. Thornton says, "which in Turkey soon acquire the force of laws, have established the Jews in their offices of collecting the customs, and of purchasing whatever is required for the use of the Seraglio, while they have conferred on the Armenians the direction of the mint: these, however, are the highest civil employments to which either of them can attain."*

We shall conclude our sketch of this extraordinary city and its motley population, with the following spirited picture of the scene, as it first strikes upon the European stranger. "It would be difficult," says Dr. A. Neale, who visited Constantinople in 1806,

* Lady M. W. Montagu represents the Jews as in possession of the whole trade of the empire, and of many privileges above the natural Turks themselves. "Every pasha has his Jew, who is his *homme d'affaires*; he is let into all his secrets, and does all his business. They are the physicians, the stewards, and the interpreters of all the great men."—*Works*, vol. ii. p. 129.

Digitized by Google

"for any imagination, even the most romantic or distempered, to associate in close array all the incongruous and discordant objects which may be contemplated, even within a few hours' perambulation, in and around the Turkish capital. The barbarous extremes of magnificence and wretchedness,—the majesty of nature, crowned with all the grandeur of art, in contrast with the atrocious effects of unrestrained sensuality, fill up the varied picture. The howlings of ten thousand dogs, re-echoing through the deserted streets all the live-long night, chase you betimes from your pillow. Approaching your window, you are greeted by the rays of the rising sun, gilding the snowy summits of Mount Olympus and the beautiful shores of the Sea of Marmora, the point of Chalcedon, and the town of Scutari: mid-way, your eye ranges with delight over the marble domes of St. Sophia, the gilded pinnacles of the Seraglio glittering amid groves of perpetual verdure, the long arcades of ancient aqueducts, and the spiry minarets of a thousand mosques .. The hoarse guttural sounds of a Turk selling *kaimac* at your door, recall your attention towards the miserable lanes of Pera, wet, splashy, dark, and disgusting: the mouldering wooden tenements beetling over these alleys, are the abode of pestilence and misery. You may mount your horse, and betake yourself to the fields, rich with the purple fragrance of heath and lavender, and swarming with myriads of honied insects: in the midst of your progress, your horse recoils from his path, at the loathsome object occupying the centre of the highway;—an expiring horse, from which a horde of famished dogs are already tearing the reeking entrails. Would you behold his unfeeling master, look beneath the acacia, at the hoary Turk performing his pious ablutions at the sacred fountain. Retracing

Digitized by Google

your steps, you are met by a party passing, at a quick pace, towards that cemetery on the right, the field of the dead: they are carrying on a bier the dead body of a Greek, the pallid beauty of whose countenance is contrasted with the freshness of the roses which compose the chaplet on his head. A few hours only he has ceased to breathe; but see! the grave has already received its obscure and nameless tenant. Having returned to the city, you are appalled by a crowd of revellers pressing around the doors of a wine-house: the sounds of minstrelsy and riot are within. You have scarcely passed, when you behold two or three gazers round the doors of a baker's shop: the *kuinakan* has been his rounds, the weights have been found deficient, and the unfortunate man, who swings in a halter at the door, has paid the penalty of his petty villany. The populace around murmur at the price of bread; but the *muezzins* from the adjoining minarets are proclaiming the hour of prayer, and the Moslems are pouring in to count their beads. In an opposite coffee-house, a groupe of Turkish soldiers, drowsy with tobacco, are dreaming over the chequers of a chess-board, or listening to the licentious fairy-tales of a dervish. The passing crowd seem to have no common sympathies, jostling each other in silence on the narrow foot-path; women veiled in long caftans, emirs with green turbans, *bostanjis*, Jews, and Armenians, encounter Greeks, Albanians, Franks, and Tatars. Fatigued with the pageant, you observe the shades of evening descend, and again sigh for repose; but the *passawend*, with their iron-bound staves striking the pavement, excite your attention to the cries of *yangen var* from the top of an adjoining tower; and you are told the flames are in the next street. There you may behold the devouring element over-

Digitized by Google

whelming in a common ruin the property of infidels and true believers, till the shouts of the multitude announce the approach of the Arch-despot, and the power of a golden shower of sequins is exemplified in awakening the callous feelings of even a Turkish multitude to the sufferings of their fellow-creatures. The fire is extinguished, and darkness of a deeper hue has succeeded to the glare of the flames. The retiring crowds, guided by their paper lantherns, flit by thousands, like *ignes fatui*, amidst the cypresses of the "Field of the Dead;" and you are left to encounter the gloom and solitude of your own apartment." *

* Neale's Travels, 4to, (1818) p. 226. "Amid the novelties that strike the European on his arrival, nothing surprises him more than the silence that pervades so large a capital. He hears no noise of carts or carriages rattling through the streets; for there are no wheeled vehicles in the city, except a very few painted carts, called *arabahs*, drawn by buffaloes, in which women occasionally take the air in the suburbs, and which go only a foot pace. The only sounds he hears by day, are the cries of bread, fruits, sweetmeats, or sherbet, carried in a large wooden tray on the head of an itinerant vender, and at intervals, the barking of dogs disturbed by the foot of the passenger,—lazy, ugly curs, of a reddish brown colour, with muzzles like that of a fox, short ears, and famished looks, who lie in the middle of the streets, and rise only when roused with blows. The contrast between Constantinople and a European city is still more strongly marked at night. By ten o'clock every human voice is hushed, and not a creature is seen in the streets, except a few patroles and the innumerable dogs, who at intervals send forth such repeated howlings, that it requires practice to be able to sleep in spite of their noise. This silence is frequently disturbed by a fire, which is announced by the patrole striking on the pavement with their iron-shod staves, and calling loudly *yangen-var* (there is a fire); on which the firemen assemble, and all the inhabitants in the neighbourhood are immediately on the alert. If it be not quickly subdued, all the ministers of state are obliged to attend; and if it threaten extensive ravages, the Sultan himself must appear, to encourage the efforts of the firemen."—TURNER'S *Tour in the Levant*, vol. i. pp. 81—3. Mr. Hobhouse says, that a fire that has continued an hour, and has been thrice proclaimed, "forces the

Digitized by Google

In the month of *Ramazan* (the Mohammedan Lent), the scene, however, is entirely changed. The day is passed, by the rich at least, in sleep, or in total idleness. Every Moslem, with the exception of travellers, children, and invalids, is forbidden to taste food or drink, to smoke or take snuff, from sunrise to sunset; and very wretched do they look, squatting on their divan or at their door, without their favourite pipe in their mouths, and having no other occupation than counting their beads. As the Turkish month is lunar, the Ramazan runs through every season in the course of thirty-three years; and when it occurs in summer, the labouring classes suffer extremely from exhaustion and thirst. "I have seen the boatmen," says Mr. Turner, "lean on their oars almost fainting; but I never saw—never met with any one who professed to have seen—an instance in which they yielded to the temptation of violating the fast." The moment of sunset is of course eagerly looked for: it is announced by the firing of cannon. It might be imagined, that the first act of the hungry and thirsty would be to eat and to drink; but numbers of Turks may be seen, their pipes ready filled, and the fire to light it in their hands, awaiting the welcome signal, every other gratification being postponed for that of inhaling the fragrant weed. The night is passed in devotional forms and revelry. All the mosques are open, and all the coffee-houses: the latter are crowded with Turks smoking, drinking coffee, and listening to singers and story-tellers. The minarets are illuminated, and the streets are crowded with the faithful. The *Bairam*, which succeeds the *Ramazan*, presents three days of

Grand Signior himself to the spot." This singular custom has often been the cause of fires, as the people take this method of making their discontents known to the Sultan in person.

Digitized by Google

manized festivity. Every Turk who can afford it appears in a new dress; visits are exchanged, and parties are made up to the favourite spots in the vicinity.* Seventy days after is the festival of the *Courban Bairam*, (feast of sacrifice), which lasts four days, during which sheep and oxen are sacrificed to Allah and "the Prophet," and the same festivities are observed as on the *Bairam*. These seven days are a universal holiday, the shops being shut, and business everywhere abandoned for pleasure. †

ENVIRONS OF CONSTANTINOPLE.

STRANGERS at Pera are usually taken to a number of spots in the vicinity: the principal of these are, the Valley of Sweet Waters, the villages of Belgrade and Buyuk-dere, the mouth of the Bosphorus, the Giant's Tomb, the Mountain of Bourgaloue above Scutari, and the gardens of *Fanar Baktchessi*. For a description of these, we shall borrow from Mr. Hobhouse.

* Mr. Turner states, that he has heard many Europeans long resident in the Levant, observe, that the decline of Turkey is in nothing more remarkably apparent, than in the festivities of the Bairam. Formerly at that season, every Turk procured himself an entire new suit; but, owing to the depreciation of their money, and the decline of their national wealth, all but the richer sort now content themselves with a new *benyesh*, or with simply patching their old clothes. The Grand Signior on this day appears more magnificently dressed than usual, and entertains the grandees in the hall of the Divan. Tournefort says, "The women, who are shut up all the year, have the liberty of being abroad the three days this feast continues."

† Turner's Tour, vol. i. pp. 84—6. Tournefort, vol. ii. p. 266. *et seq.* The latter Traveller states, that the "smaller *Bairam*" lasts only one day, the 10th of the twelfth month, (Ramadan being the ninth in the Turkish year,) but that they also keep as a festival the night of Mohammed's birth, that of the 11th of the third month, as well as the 26th of the fourth month, on which he is fabled to have made his celestial excursion upon *Alborac*.

Digitized by Google

"At the head of the port is a large flat of low land, having very much the appearance of the meadows near the harbour at Portsmouth, which seems to have been created by the perpetual alluvions of the river Lycus, formed by the united streams of the ancient Cydaris and Barbysses. There are some paper-mills near the head of the port, which have given the spot the name of Kiat-Hana, or in Greek, Kartaricos. A mile and a half beyond the mills, the ground rises on each side, and encloses a flat valley adorned with the pleasure-grounds and kiosk of Sultan Achmet the Third, which were constructed by a Frenchman on the plan of the gardens at Versailles and Fontainebleau. The river is there converted into a straight canal, running between avenues of tall trees. At the kiosk, the stream runs over two flights of marble steps. Near the cascade is a grove of tall trees, which is the resort of parties from Pera and Constantinople. Strings of females promenading between the avenues, sets of dancing Greeks, horses superbly caparisoned, add to the beauty and singularity of the spectacle which is to be seen on any fine day in the Valley of Sweet Waters. At the kiosk of Kiat-Hana, there is a line of field-pieces pointed up the valley, not intended for defence, but for the practice of the Topges. The kiosk was the favourite summer palace of Sultan Selim: it is a gaudy building, not very large, of lath and plaster; and not having been inhabited by the court for some time, is now neglected and in decay.*

* Mr. Turner obtained permission to enter this palace. The rooms are generally about 45 feet by 25; the walls stuccoed, and painted blue, pale lilac, or buff, with round or oval compartments, containing landscapes, evidently the work of a European artist. The apartments of the harem were plentifully adorned with Venetian looking-glasses. The divans were most elegant, of red or dark satin, richly embroidered with gold or silver.

Digitized by Google

"A mile and a half above Kiat-Hana, there is a small village, which is at the mouth of the Valley of Sweet Waters, and separates it from another long plain, enclosed on each side by a chain of hills. It may be about six miles in extent: the Barbyssos runs through its whole length. The plain is the pasturage of the Sultan's horses, which are turned out on the 23d of April.

"The country beyond the valley, as well as on each side, is an expanse of open downs, which, generally speaking, is the character of all the immediate vicinity of Constantinople towards the interior of Thrace. The forests of Belgrade commence about ten miles from Pera, extending in length from the village of Bourgas towards the shores of the Black Sea, not less than twelve miles, and ranging along the coast at intervals for at least a hundred miles. A rich vein of coal, which has not yet been worked, has been discovered in the woods near the sea-shore.

"At Bourgas, is a portion of the aqueduct built originally by Theodosius, or by Valens and Valentinian; destroyed by the Avars in the reign of Heraclius; repaired by Constantine Iconomachus; and totally reconstructed by Solyman the Magnificent. Pococke has given a very minute account of this structure. The most ancient part of it, as to its appearance and materials, which are alternate layers of brick and stone, is that within the walls; the largest, that at Bourgas, which is a stupendous structure four hundred and forty feet long, and one hundred and seven feet high, The aqueduct at Pontcysyllty may very safely be compared to either of these works.—Bourgas is between four and five miles from Belgrade. The road passes through a forest on a gravel-walk, by a stream dammed up by high massive walls, and, near Belgrade,

Digitized by Google

skirts two large reservoirs. The largest of these is railed off, and, as the wood grows down to the water's edge, and is intersected by many paths and green rides, looks like a lake in a cultivated park, and has indeed much the appearance of the piece of water at Bowood Park, in the county of Wilts. The village of Belgrade itself is embosomed in the depth of the forest, a little above a streamlet (the ancient Hydraulis) which falls into the reservoirs, and supplies the whole capital with water. On a green knoll is the country-house of Mr. Pisani, the chief dragoman, which was built by Sir Robert Ainslie, on the site, as some assert, of the mansion which the residence of Lady M. W. Montagu has rendered an object of curiosity to every traveller. Another site is also pointed out, but the first place has the advantage of being more beautifully situated than any other in the village; and it alone commands a view of the first lake through a vista of the neighbouring groves, which so conceal the termination of the reservoir, as to give the water the appearance of a broad river winding through the woods.

"Some of the foreign ambassadors retire to this village during spring and autumn. The repose of Belgrade is completely interrupted by the loud merriment of the Greeks, who often retire thither, and celebrate their marriages and church-festivals with discordant music and songs. Night after night is kept awake by the pipes, tabors, and fiddles of their moonlight dances; and the fountains resorted to by the nymphs which charmed Lady M. W. Montagu, do not adulterate the beverage of the youths who assist at these continued Saturnalia."*

* "The heats of Constantinople, (June 17) have driven me to this place (Belgrade), which perfectly answers the description of the Elysian Fields. I am in the middle of a wood, consisting

Digitized by Google

"The route from Belgrade to Buyuk-dere is through the woods; but, after an hour's ride, you burst suddenly upon the view of the Bosphorus and the Mountains of Asia. At this spot, an aqueduct, built in the beginning of the last century for the supply of Pera, Galata, and the villages on the Thracian side of the canal, crosses a narrow dell; and the road passes under one of the stupendous arches, into a valley between sloping woods, which expands at last into a green plain, stretching down to the shore of a deep bay of the Bosphorus, still preserving its ancient name Βαθυκολπος in the Turkish appellation of Buyuk-dere."

The village of this name, which is fourteen miles from Constantinople, contains the country-houses of most of the foreign ministers, who now reside here during the summer, instead of at Belgrade.[a] The façades of those mansions are, for the most part, in the European style, and range along an extensive strand, a mile and a half long, which is the evening promenade. Behind are large gardens and groves of plane, lime, and walnut-trees, overshadowing parterres of flowers and valuable plants. On every side, the meadow, or plain, is embanked with waving acclivities

chiefly of fruit-trees, watered by a vast number of fountains famous for the excellency of their water, and divided into many shady walks, upon short grass, ... within view of the Black Sea, from whence we perpetually enjoy the refreshment of cool breezes that make us insensible of the heat of the summer. The village is only inhabited by the richest among the Christians, who meet every night at a fountain forty paces from my house, to sing and dance. The beauty and dress of the women exactly resemble the ideas of the ancient nymphs, as they are given us by the representations of the poets and painters."—Works, vol. ii. p. 199. Belgrade is five miles inland on the European shore: it is stated to be unwholesome in the midst of summer.

[a] Buyuk-dere was not built when Lady M. W. Montagu wrote her letters.

Digitized by Google

covered with verdure; and, on the west and north, it is enclosed with the woods of Belgrade, "running like a park plantation along the verge of the hills." This village (as well as Belgrade) is crowded with rich Armenian families, who enjoy more liberty here than they can in the capital; and, when Mr. Hobhouse travelled, a hotel was kept here by an Englishman, where a stranger might find "comfortable lodgings and good fare." The higher classes of Greeks resort to the neighbouring village of Terapia.

THE BOSPHORUS.

It was numbered among the ancient glories of the Bosphorus, that its banks were adorned with a continued line of edifices; and the same peculiarity, Mr. Hobhouse says, is still observable on the Thracian border.* From Tophana, a street of wooden houses skirts the water's edge, the intervals being occupied with royal palaces and their surrounding domains.† The banks are everywhere high, and the declivities are clothed with woods interspersed with vineyards and hanging gardens. Near the point called *Effendi-bornou*, above *Arnaout-keui*, the stream runs with so strong a current that the boatmen are obliged to tow

* To the artillery-barrack succeeds the village of Fondoukle; beyond are the gardens and pier of *Dolma-baktche*; then, the village of *Beshik-tash*, a favourite retreat of the present Sultan; next succeed the villages of *Orta-keui*, *Kourou Tchesme* (where the rich Fanariotes and many Armenians and Jews have summer-houses), and *Arnaout-keui* (Albanian village); between the points of *Effendi-bornou* and *Kislar-bornou*, is a large imperial palace and domain; beyond the latter point is an inlet of shoal-water, called *Balta-limen*, supposed to be the Gulf of Phidalia; then, the bay of *Stenia*, the village of *Yeni-keui*, and further on, Terapia.

† According to Mr. Turner, there are no fewer than ten imperial summer-palaces along the Bosphorus and in the neighbourhood.

Digitized by Google

the wherries for nearly a quarter of a mile. The depth of water close to shore is so considerable as to allow the Turkish line-of-battle ships sometimes to touch the wooden wharfs. The succeeding point, *Kislar-bornou*, is rendered conspicuous by an old castle called *Eski-hissar*, built by Mahommed II. on the site of some fortresses of the Greek emperors, which, together with the fortress of *Bogaz-hissar*, on the opposite shore, points out the exact part of the channel where the Persians, Goths, Latins, and Ottomans, successively passed the Bosphorus. There are no houses near the fortress, which is in the midst of a thick grove clothing the high and steep declivities of the impending hill. "At this spot, the Bosphorus appears like a majestic river, winding between banks as high and woody as those of the Wye, and not less lively and cultivated than those of the Thames." The towers of the castles have a mean appearance, being covered with conical roofs. Nearly opposite to Mahommed's Tower, is a seat of the Sultan's, inhabited by the *Bostange-bashe*, who is charged with the police of the Strait. The castle of Anadoli (Bogaz-hissar) stands on a flat under the hills, projecting into the strait, the breadth of which in this place is about half a mile. This spot, "perhaps seven miles up the Bosphorus," is usually considered as midway; but Mr. Hobhouse, on the authority of the boatmen, makes it "as far from Tophana as from Buyuk-dere, which gives the whole canal, from the mouth at Fanaraki to the point of Scutari, a length of twenty or twenty-one miles." Tournefort makes it only sixteen miles and a half. Sandys, about twenty.*

* Herodotus, Polybius, Strabo, and other ancient authorities make it 120 *stadia* in length, or nearly fifteen miles, reckoning from the Temple of Jupiter to Byzantium. "The ancients," re-

Digitized by Google

A short distance beyond Terapia, in crossing the deep bay of Buyuk-dere, is obtained the first view of the opening into the Euxine. Higher up, on the banks of the small river Chrysorrhoas, is *Roumeli-kavak*, the castle of Roumelia, where there is a battery; and above are ruins of a castle built by the Genoese on the site of the Temple of Serapis. On the hill above the river, which commands a view of the Euxine and the Propontis, of the Bosphorus and of Constantinople, was placed the ancient light-house. The modern one, *Roumeli-fener*, is higher up, at Fanaraki, two hours from Buyuk-dere. As the traveller advances, the hills on each side become more high and rugged, terminating, on the Thracian side, in dark, rocky precipices. The hills of Fanaraki (the ancient Panium) rise in five pointed crags; and here, upon the top of a rock environed with the sea, is the pedestal of a column dedicated to Augustus, which was standing as late as 1730, and which is described by Sandys:

marks the Abbé Barthelemy, "differ among themselves, and still more the moderns, respecting these measures, as well as respecting those of the Euxine, the Propontis, and the Hellespont."—Trav. of Anacharsis, vol. ii. p. 31, note. Those of our readers who wish to enter further into the question relating to the topography of the Bosphorus, may consult Hobhouse, letter 45; Tournefort, vol. ii. letter 8; and Le Chevalier's "*Voyage de la Propontide*," vol. ii. pp. 50—64. The whole coast has been described with "inimitable accuracy" by Gyllius. With regard to the origin of the name, Sandys tells us it was called Bosphorus (Βοσπορος), "for that oxen accustomed to swim from one side to the other, or, as the poets will have it, from the passage of the metamorphosed Io." A recent Traveller (Dr. Neale) supposes the oxen to have been the *boves lucos turrito corpore tetros* of Lucretius; in other words, that the strait derived its name from the passage of the Persian elephants, which the Greeks and Thracians, having no other appellation for them, called *bos leucos*, white bulls. The passage from Chalcedon to Scutari was anciently called the Ox-passage, whence it is plain, Tournefort says, that that place must be considered as the beginning of the Bosphorus.

Digitized by Google

it is a fragment of white marble, rather more than five feet high, and nine feet and a half in circumference. A festoon of laurel-leaves with the head of a ram (or of a heifer), is still discernible, but the inscription is defaced by the names of travellers.* The land recedes much more suddenly on the European, than on the Asiatic side, so that, to those beating along the Thracian shore, Mr. Hobhouse says, the entrance to the Strait is abrupt, and has a fantastic appearance, like the mouth of some enormous sea-monster, the white castles on the dark-coloured hills having the resemblance of teeth. The rugged rocks on each side of the Strait look as if fresh from the irruption of the waters which tore a passage into the lake of the Granicus and Rhyndacus, and, creating new channels, gave another surface to a vast portion of the western hemisphere."

The catastrophe here alluded to, notwithstanding the ancient authorities which vouch for the tradition, must still be regarded, however, as an hypothesis,—at least so far as regards the extent as well as the causes of the phenomenon. The whole problem relating to the Euxine is one of the most interesting in geography. Its character is that of an immense fresh-water lake, rather than a sea. The freshness of the waters was remarked by the ancients; and Mr. Hobhouse says, "it was not to establish any theory, but merely from a persuasion of the fact, that we all pronounced them to be scarcely brackish."† Some geo-

* The vulgar name is Pompey's Pillar; but the inscription, as given by Sandys and Wheler, proves it to have been dedicated to the emperor. The pedestal is supposed to have been originally an altar, of antiquity prior to the pillar, which was Corinthian.

† Tournefort, while he remarks that the water of the Euxine is less briny than that of other seas, states, that the land all round is full of fossil salt, which is continually melting into it.

Digitized by Google

logists have supposed, that the immense plains between the Baltic and the Caspian were once an expanse of water. Between the Baltic and the Black Sea, the ground is at present scarcely fifty fathoms above the level of the ocean; while "the plain of La Mancha, in the western peninsula, if placed between the sources of the Niemen and the Borysthenes, would figure as a groupe of mountains of considerable height." Many appearances favour the opinion, that the waters of the Euxine once rose far above their present level. The borders of the Danube, even as high as Buda, are said to exhibit evident indications that the plains of Hungary were once the bottom of a marsh; and the inland parts of the Hæmus and the Carpathian mountains have been supposed to present a strong resemblance to head-lands and bays. Tournefort supposes, that the waters of the lake first wore for themselves a channel between the two rocks where the new Castles of Roumelia and Anatolia now stand, and formed the gulfs of Saraia and Therapia; that, continuing to wash away the earth, they then gradually formed the second elbow of the Strait, and at length extended the canal to the Point of the Seraglio, the bottom of which is a living rock, not by any means to be shaken. "This large heap of waters," he adds, "did probably throw down at once the dike of earth that remained between Constantinople and Cape Scutari, and so discharged itself into the Sea of Marmora. At this time, if we may judge by appearances, happened the great inundation spoken of by Diodorus Siculus, one of the most faithful historians of antiquity. That author informs us, that the inhabitants of Samothrace, a considerable island situated to the left of the entrance of the Dardanelles, perceived the irruption made by the waters of the *Pontus Euxinus* into the *Propontis*

Digitized by Google

through the aperture of the Cyanean Islands; that the inundation drowned part of the cities on the coast of Asia, which undoubtedly was lower than that of Europe; but, notwithstanding this, the waters mounted to the tops of the highest mountains of Samothrace, and changed the face of the whole country. The islanders had still the tradition of it among them in the time of that historian. . . . .This must convince us, that the great passage of the Propontis into the Mediterranean, was made long before by the same mechanism.* It is very probable, that the waters of the Propontis, which anciently might be nothing but a lake formed by the Granicus and the Rhyndacus, finding it more easy to work themselves a canal by the Dardanelles than by any other way, spread themselves into the Mediterranean. . . . The Mediterranean discharges itself into the ocean at the Straits of Gibraltar, where, by good fortune, it was easier for the water to scoop itself a canal, than to overspread the lands of Africa. The All-wise God had left this opening between Mount Atlas and Calpe: the plug, as we may say, only wanted to be pulled out." †

* The formation of the channel of the Bosphorus, Tournefort remarks, must have been long before the voyage of the Argonauts, which is supposed to have been B.C. 1263.

† The learned Frenchman suggests, that possibly this terrible irruption either sank or carried away "that famous isle of Atalantis, which Plato describes beyond the coast of Spain, and Diodorus Siculus beyond that of Africa." Strabo and some other ancient writers believed, that the Mediterranean, swelled by the waters of the Euxine, the *Palus Mœotis*, the Caspian, and the Lake Aral, had broken the pillars of Hercules: others, with Pomponius Mela, supposed that the irruption was made by the waters of the ocean. The latter hypothesis is at variance with probability on many grounds. The whole subject, however, has hitherto received an imperfect investigation. See HUMBOLDT'S *Per. Nar.* vol. i. p. 20., and the authorities referred to in note. TOURNEFORT, vol. ii. let. 8. THORNTON'S *Turkey*, vol. ii. p. 400. *et seq.*

Digitized by Google

The water discharged by the Euxine through the narrow channel of the Thracian Bosphorus, by no means accounts for its receiving so prodigious a quantity from the influx of the Danube, the Dniester, and various other streams, without becoming larger. The Black Sea, Tournefort says, besides the *Palus Mœotis*, or Sea of Azof, receives more rivers than the Mediterranean. The loss which the latter sustains by evaporation, according to the experiments of Dr. Halley, is supposed, however, to be more than equal to all the freshes, including the Dardanelles, which flow into it. In the case both of the Euxine and the Caspian, the theory of a subterranean canal has been proposed as a solution of the problem; but the hypothesis, as regards the Caspian, is disproved by the fact, that its level is lower than that of the ocean; and probably, as regards the Euxine, it is not better founded.

Between Fanaraki and *Kara Bornou* (Black Cape), the land on the coast of the Euxine gradually ascends from the margin of the sea, excepting in some places, where the shore, Dr. Neale says, "seems to have been precipitated into the sea by earthquakes." In these places, the perpendicular faces of the cliffs disclose horizontal beds of limestone, alternating with rich veins of coal, so advantageously situated, that shafts might be opened almost at the water's edge. "These beds of coal stretch for many miles beneath the forest of Belgrade, cropping out (as the miners term it) in various places, and pursuing a direction from S.W. to N.E." This Traveller suggests, that the spontaneous decomposition of the pyrites usually accompanying this formation, may give rise to the violent earthquakes with which Constantinople has been repeatedly visited. The shores of the Euxine are stated by another traveller (Olivier) to exhibit volcanic appear-

Digitized by Google

sances; and some writers have been disposed to ascribe the opening of the Bosphorus to such agency.

The Bosphorus was remarkable in ancient times for its tunny-fishery, and it is still a source of considerable profit to the inhabitants. This fish, which is the same as the Spanish mackarel, (the *scomber thynnus* of Linnæus,*) regularly migrates in autumn to more southern latitudes, returning in the spring; and the shoals which find their way, by the narrow outlet of the Bosphorus and the Hellespont, from the Euxine into the Mediterranean, are so numerous, that sufficient might easily be taken, Gyllius says, to supply all Greece. "Neither is any particular skill requisite to succeed in this fishery, for women and children," he adds, "may sit at their windows, and bring up the *pelamydes* in basket-fulls from the current, or with hooks even without any bait, so very torpid are the fish." Dr. Neale witnessed this remarkable phenomenon. A few days after his arrival at Terapia, in the autumn of 1805, two smart shocks of earthquake were succeeded by a strong hurricane from the north, and a fall of snow. The wind continued in this quarter for some days, and at length he observed "a singular rippling appearance in the waters of the Bosphorus, forming a dark serpentine line about a mile and a half

* The *arcynus limosa* and *pelamys* of other writers. Πηλαμυς was the name given to the young tunny (θυννις), either from its colour, or from its fondness for the mud. According to the ancients, "no fish more dreads the cold." Sometimes they attain seven or eight feet in length, and have been found to weigh as much as 450 lbs. avoirdupois. When cut in pieces, the flesh has the appearance of raw beef, but becomes paler on being boiled, and has somewhat the flavour of salmon. The *abdomina thunni* was a Roman delicacy. The salted pelamydes and the roe of the tunny and sturgeon (*caviare* and *pontargue*), form the principal food of the lower classes of Greeks during Lent.

Digitized by Google

lotig. Over and all around this rippling were assembled a prodigious concourse of aquatic fowls,—swans, cormorants, pelicans, penguins, solan geese, ducks, quails, divers, &c., which shrieked in hoarse concert as they dived upon the myriads of pelamydes which floated in mid-channel." While he was looking on, the boats from Constantinople began to arrive. By mid-day, there were hundreds, "navigated by Turks, Albanians, and Greeks, all pulling against the rapid current, bawling, shouting, and wrangling for the prize, which they were even forced to contest with the wild fowl, who intrepidly descended to seize the fish when struggling amid the meshes of the net." This scene lasted "day and night," till the fourth morning, when the last of the shoal passed Terapia. In returning in the spring, Dr. Neale adds, the tunnies carefully avoid the rapid currents, as they are closely followed by the *xiphias*, or sword-fish, which constantly pursue them in their passage to and from the Mediterranean. Rapid as the Bosphorus is, it is sometimes frozen over, and in the year 401, the Euxine itself is said to have been frozen for twenty days.*

"It may be said," remarks Mr. Turner, "that there are two climates at Constantinople, that of the north and that of the south wind. The former, bringing with it the cold which it has gathered in blowing over the Black Sea,† gives coolness to the days of

* Tournefort, vol. ii. p. 359. "When the weather broke, such mountains of ice passed by Constantinople as frighted the inhabitants. Zonaras writes, that in the reign of Constantine Copronymus, there happened so severe a winter, that people walked upon the ice from Constantinople to Scutari; nay, that it bore carts too." Cantemir states, that the same circumstance occurred in the year 1621.

† ——— "Like to the Pontic Sea,
Whose *icy current* and compulsive course,

Digitized by Google

summer, and frost and snow to those of winter. The latter, coming from the southern provinces across the Archipelago, often renders a December day uncomfortably hot, and is most oppressively heating in summer. The north wind is the prevailing one, blowing with little intermission from May to September, and being frequent in the other months. It is not uncommon to see a north wind blowing in the Bosphorus, and a south one in the Sea of Marmora. Both of them blow at times with extreme fury. It must be owned, however, that the climate of Constantinople is, in general, mild and moderate, though it is not sufficiently hot for the growth of olive-trees, and orange and lemon-trees will not thrive in the open air, but require a slight shelter. It is very seldom that the sun is obscured by clouds, and rain is not frequent or lasting."* This prevalence of the north or north-east

> Ne'er feels retiring ebb, but keeps due on
> To the Propontic and the Hellespont."
>
> *Othello*, act iii. sc. 3.

It is remarkable, that this simile is not in the first edition of the play, and Thornton calls in question the propriety of the epithet; but seemingly without reason. (Vol. ii. p. 398).

* Turner's Tour, &c., vol. i. p. 90. The greatest heat, in the Writer's recollection, is stated to have been 94° of Fahr. in August, with a siroc wind; and the greatest cold, 33° 30′ in February. The lowest temperature during Dr. Clarke's residence, from Jan. 13 to March 31, was 30°; the highest, 66°; the mean average of Jan. and Feb., between 47° and 48°. "Constantinople," says Dr Clarke, "is by no means a healthy place of residence for persons who have not lived long enough there to become inured to the vicissitudes of climate. The sudden changes of temperature render such persons liable to the most fatal effects of obstructed perspiration." After giving several cases of the kind, he adds: "Such are the blessings of what is often described as a delightful and luxurious climate. There can scarcely be found a spot upon earth more detestable than Pera, particularly in the most crowded parts of it. We might be said to live in cemeteries; the only water used for drinking passing through sepulchres to the feverish lips of the in-

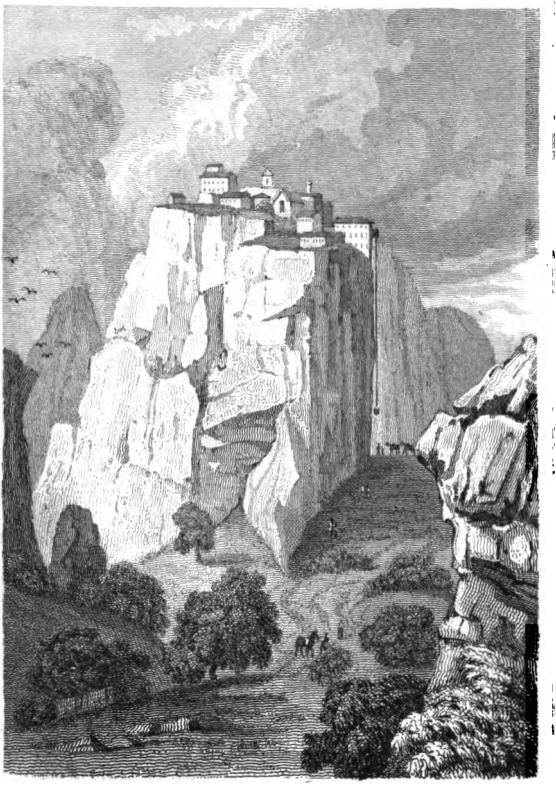
Digitized by Google

wind is very injurious to the commerce of Constantinople, since, blowing in the direction of the currents, it frequently renders Constantinople inaccessible to ships coming from the Mediterranean or the Archipelago.

To complete our description of this remarkable Strait, we must now rejoin Mr. Hobhouse, and accompany him in his return along the Asiatic coast. From the two *Fanars*, the Strait contracts; and at *Porias-liman*, a mile and a half lower down, is a fort erected by De Tott in 1773. A mile below this is another headland, called *Fil-burnou*, the ancient Cape Coracium (Cape of the Crows), where the width of the passage is only a mile and a quarter. This forms, according to Tournefort, the beginning of the narrows. The Bosphorus then retreats in a deep bay, nearly three miles across, the ancient Gulf of Pantichium, now called *Ketcheli-liman*. Upon the southern headland, one of the three points of the ancient Cape of Bithynia, stands *Kavak Anadoli*, the castle of Asia, nearly opposite to that of Roumelia. Here, where the strait is not more than a mile across, the first modern defences of the canal were erected by Mahommed IV., to stop the incursions of the Cossacks, Poles, and Russians; but a modern battery has now given the name of the New Castle to the site of the most ancient fortress. "This spot," says Mr. Hobhouse, "being considered as the entrance to the Bosphorus, was chosen by the Byzantines for the site of a strong-hold; and

habitants, filled with all sorts of revolting impurities. The owner of the hotel where we resided, wishing to make some repairs in his dwelling, dug near the foundation, and found that his house stood upon graves yet containing the mouldering relics of the dead. This may perhaps account for the swarm of rats." &c.—*Travels, &c.* Part II. 8vo. vol. viii. p. 137; and *Append.* 4.

Digitized by Google



Engd on Steel. by H. Adlard

MONASTERY OF METEORA: THESSALY.

Published by J. Duncan, 37, Paternoster Row Dec. 1. 1826.

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

on the slope of the hill above the new battery, there are considerable remains of a castle and wall, which appear to be what the topographers of the Bosphorus describe as the fortress and circular walls ruined by the Gauls, rebuilt by the Greek emperors, and (as is generally supposed) put into a state of defence by the Genoese. A village near the battery, called *Ioro* (*Yoro*) has been mentioned by every traveller, as pointing out the site of the port and temple of Hieron, and as consequently deciding the spot on or near which Darius took his survey of the Euxine. The best view of the *embouchure* of the Bosphorus and of the expanding sea, is to be procured, not on the hill commonly called the Giant's Mountain, but on the barren summit above the Genoese castle. The temple of Jupiter Urius was under this castle." *

The next head-land, *Magiar-bornou*, the ancient Argyronium, is a mile and a half below *Kavak Anadoli*, and under the towering Giant's Mountain. It is fortified by the battery called *Youcha*. From this point, the strait recedes opposite the Gulf of Buyuk-dére, forming a bay, overlooked by abrupt precipices, and terminated by a promontory two miles lower down, in face of Terapia. The canal bends inwards to the south, and the Sultan's Bay (or the Round Gulf), which is a mile in width, is closed at the other horn by Cape Stridia, or the Cape of Oysters, called by the Turks, *Selvi-bornou*. In this bay there is a landing-place leading to the magnificent kiosk of Sultan Soliman, now in ruins, but the gardens of which still remain at *Sultanie Baktchessi*, near the village of Beicos

* Tournefort says, "the temple must have been at the village of *Ioro*, which is close to the new castle of Asia."

Digitized by Google

or Becoussi (the Walnut-tree village.)* Mr. Hobhouse landed here, for the purpose of ascending the mountain. He procured horses at a coffee-house, where several are kept ready saddled for visiters, and soon afterwards passed by a large paper-manufactory at the head of an extensive meadow, shaded by rows of tall oaks, and watered by two clear rivulets. Here, the ladies of the Imperial harem often take boat in the summer, and proceed up the beautiful valleys in their arabats, to some artificial lakes or reservoirs, where they amuse themselves with fishing. In winding up the hills towards *Anadoli-kavak*, peeps were obtained of several woody dells divided by little rivulets. According to Gyllius, the Bosphorus receives thirty rivers, and its banks are adorned with more than fifty valleys. In less than an hour, the party gained the summit above *Magiar-bornou*, and repaired to the *Tekeh* or Dervish's chapel. In the adjoining garden, is shewn a flower-bed more than fifty feet long, rimmed round with stone, with a sepulchral turban at each end, which perpetuates a superstition attached to the spot long before the time of the Turks or of the Byzantine Christians: after having been called the Tomb of Amycus† and the Bed of Hercules, it is now known as the Giant's Grave. The ride on the hills from this place to the summit above the Genoese Castle, afforded a view of an extensive tract of dark forest country on the right, which is set apart for the Grand Signior's hunting. It is intersected by deep dells, or

* The village above Beicos is called *Toca*, that is, the Village of Cherries. "All this coast," says Tournefort, "is so fruitful, that every village bears the name of some fruit."

† Amycus, king of the Bithynians, and son of Neptune, who was slain by Pollux, the son of Jupiter and Leda, in a wrestling match.

Digitized by Google

green ravines, and in contrast with the luxurious banks of the Bosphorus, rolling beneath between a line of painted villages and gardens, appeared like a dreary wilderness.

Next to the Sultan's Bay, is the Gulf of Cartacion or Catangium, terminating at *Kadlinge-bornou*, which derives its name from a considerable village. *Anadoli-Missar*, opposite to Mahommed's Tower, together with a village, is a mile and a half lower down, at the western extremity of the Gulf of Manoli. The *Yek-sus* (Green Water), the largest of the streams running into the Bosphorus, and which is navigable by boats for a mile, discharges itself to the south of the fortress. The palace and domains assigned to the *Bostanjee-bashe*, occupy the plain and the sides of the hills between this river and the *Kutchuk-su* (Little River), which falls into the strait a little above *Candile Bak-tchessi*, the supposed site of the Bithynian Nicopolis. A mile and a half below that village is *Coulo Bak-tchessi*, on the point anciently called *Cecrium*, opposite to *Kourou-tcheseme*. From this place, the towns of *Tchenzel-keui*, *Stavros*, and *Cossourge*, occupy with little intermission the whole shore as far as Beutari. The first of these is on the site of Chrysokeramtis, which received its name from a church with gilded tiles. Staurosis, which has preserved its ancient name in Stavros, was so called from the golden cross which surmounted a church constructed there by Constantine the Great: it is now remarkable for a magnificent mosque built by Sultan Abdulhamid. Between these two places, is a large monastery of the *Akoimeti*, or night-watching monks.

As the villages on the Bosphorus are not, like the capital, enclosed in walls, the passage from Buyuk-dere after night-fall, Mr. Hobhouse says, is inde-

Digitized by Google

scribably agreeable. "As far as the castles only, the Thracian border is lighted; but, below that point, a thousand twinkling fires gleam upon the margin of the canal; and near the mouth of the Strait, the sloping hills on each side of the water glow with the brilliancy of a vast illuminated amphitheatre."

The hills on the side of Scutari, (or, as the Turks call it, Iskiudar,) are, for some height, one cemetery or forest of cypresses. Not quite an hour's ride from Scutari, is the hill of *Bourgalou*, famous for its commanding view of the capital and the windings of the Bosphorus. Near the top is a fountain of clear water, which is much esteemed, and is sold in Constantinople at five *paras* the half-gallon. The declivity is covered with gardens, melon-grounds, and vineyards, supplying the capital with fruit. Northwards also, the ground is well cultivated, and is divided by hedge-rows and frequent avenues and clumps of trees. The grove of *Fanar Baktchessi*, on the point anciently called *Heræum*, is one of the many resorts of the Franks, Greeks, and Turks of the capital. A ruined church, which has been subsequently used as a mosque, and remains of some ancient baths, are supposed to have been constructed out of buildings erected here by Justinian. Scutari itself, which has succeeded to the ancient Chrysopolis, is described by Tournefort as a large and beautiful town.* It is a principal rendezvous of merchants and caravans from Armenia and Persia. "Formerly, the port of Scutari served as a retreat to the galleys of Chalcedon; and it was on account of its situation, that the Persians, aiming at the conquest of Greece, made choice of it, not only as a place of arms, but as a treasury or bank for keeping the gold and

* The population has been estimated at 30,000. See Mod. Trav., Syria, &c. vol. ii. p. 333.

Digitized by Google

silver they levied by way of tribute from the towns of Asia. Hence it got the name of Chrysopolis, or Gold Town.....It was destined to be a harbouring-place for excisemen; for the Athenians erected there, the first of any nation, a custom-house, for the gathering of the imposts laid on such as used the Black Sea."

Crossing over a sandy peninsula terminating in the head-land of *Mounde-bornou*, through lines of vineyards, the traveller arrives at *Kadi-keui*, the Judge's Town, the representative of the ancient Chalcedon;—"a poor, beggarly place," says Tournefort, "consisting of between 7 and 800 houses." The name only seems to preserve a memorial of its ancient celebrity, as the seat of the general council which, in 451, condemned the Eutychian heresy.* The church of St. Euphemia, in which the assembly was held, is said to have been in the suburbs; and M. de Nointel found in a ruined church, about a mile from the modern village, an inscription mentioning the council. The small church which the Greeks now shew as the identical edifice, has no pretensions to so high an antiquity. Persians, Greeks, Goths, Saracens, and Turks by turns despoiled Chalcedon. The walls were razed by Valens, and the materials were used in constructing the aqueduct which goes by his name. Soliman II., in repairing that aqueduct, as well as in building the *Suleimanie*, had recourse to the same quarry. "Chalcedon," says Tournefort, "seems to have been built on purpose to embellish Byzantium."

Between *Mounde-bornou* and Scutari Point (Damalis) is a head-land dividing the shore into two bays, on which is a ruined kiosk, called *Kavak-serai*, built by Murad IV.; the marbles of which were taken by

* See Mod. Trav., Syria, vol. ii. p. 334.

Digitized by Google

Sultan Selim in 1794, to adorn a mosque within the walls of the Seraglio. On a hill above the bay, the shore of which is partly occupied with the burying-ground and the suburbs of Scutari, stand the ruins of the barracks erected by that unfortunate monarch, the exercising-ground, the mosque, and several projected streets, intended to have been allotted to silk and cotton manufacturers. Just by Scutari Point, in crossing to Tophana, is a small fort called *Kis-kalessi*, the Maiden's Tower, and by the Franks, with no propriety, Leander's Tower. It stands on a rock in the midst of the channel, just large enough for the base of the building, and for a platform containing five cannons. "This tower, with a wall crossing the sea to the Point of Scutari, and a chain attached to a second fort on the European shore, was contrived by the Emperor Manuel to close the mouth of the Bosphorus; but it is now a light-house, not a place of defence; and the garrison," adds Mr. Hobhouse, "as it was a hundred years ago, is composed of one man."

We must now take leave of the extraordinary scene of commingled wonders and contrasts presented by this triple capital of the Ottoman empire, so singularly placed, so mysteriously guarded by the double strait which forms its portals.* But we have first to give a brief description of the Dardanelles.

* The author of Anastasius thus describes the approach to Constantinople from the Propontis. "With eyes rivetted on the expanding splendour, I watched as they came out of the bosom of the surrounding waters, the pointed minarets, the swelling cupolas, and the innumerable habitations, either stretching along the jagged shore, and reflecting their shape in the mirror of the deep, or creeping up the crested mountain, and tracing their outline on the expanse of the sky. At first agglomerated in a single confused mass, the lesser part of this immense whole seemed, as we advanced,

Digitized by Google

GALLIPOLI.

THE modern name of the Hellespont,* is the Sea of Gallipoli (*Galliboli Denghizzi*). The city of that name, the Callipolis of ancient geography, is situated at the mouth of the Propontis, in a strait above five miles in breadth: it is 25 miles from the Dardanelles, 40 from the Isle of Marmora, 80 miles S. of Adrianople, and 108 S.W. from Constantinople. Standing in a peninsula, it has two harbours, north and south, and not unfrequently receives the imperial fleets: it is, in fact, the chief station of the Capitan-pasha. Mr. Hobhouse describes it as a very considerable town, containing perhaps (in 1810) 15,000 inhabitants, half of whom are Turks, the remainder Greeks and Jews. But, according to Mr. Turner, who visited it in 1812 and 1815, the population had increased in a most extraordinary manner, in consequence of emi-

by degrees to unfold, to disengage themselves from each other, and to grow into various groupes, divided by wide chasms and deep indentures; until at last the clusters, thus far still distantly connected, became transformed, as if by magic, into three distinct cities, each individually of prodigious extent, and each separated from the other two by a wide arm of that sea whose silver tide encompassed their base, and made its vast circuit rest half on Europe, and half on Asia." Vol. i. p. 68.

* Whether by the Hellespont the ancients meant merely the Strait between Thrace and Phrygia, there is some reason to question. Bryant asserts, that Homer never alludes to the canal of Abydos under that name. Mr. Hobhouse, however, after shewing that this is incorrect, cites a number of ancient authorities, to prove, that the Hellespont included both the strait and the whole line of coast from Abydos to the promontory of Lectum, the northern boundary of Ætolia; being, in fact, that part of the Egean Sea which washed the shores of Phrygia Minor, as high as Abydos. In later times, it became restricted to "the strait beginning at Abydos and Sestos, and ending at Callipolis and Lampsacus, in which sense it is always taken by Pliny."—See HOBHOUSE'S *Albania*, Letter 42.

Digitized by Google

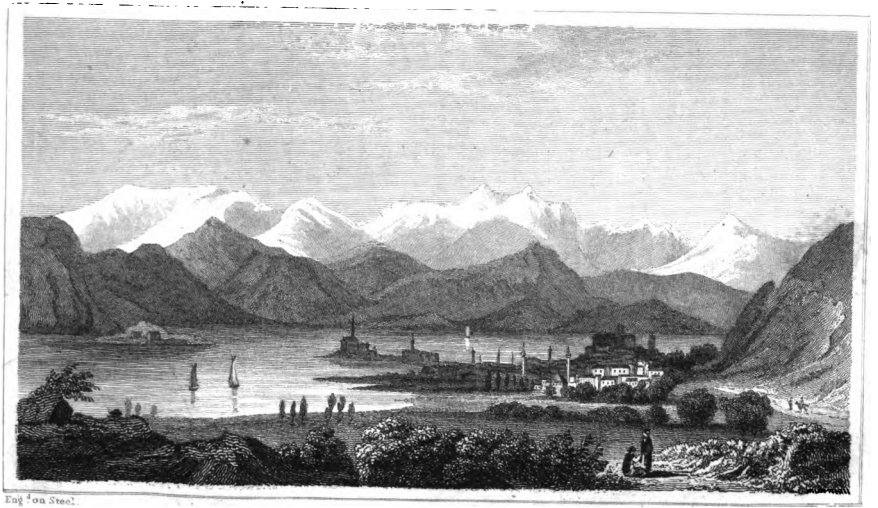
grations from other parts of Turkey, so as to contain little short of 80,000 inhabitants.* The town was once fortified, but is now without walls, its only defence being "a sorry square castle, with an old tower, doubtless that of Bajazet."† The town consists of miserable houses and dirty streets. The bazars, however, are extensive and well-furnished. Few monuments of antiquity are in good preservation, but fragments of sculpture and architecture are seen in every part of the town. Gallipoli, which is the see of a Greek bishop, was the first European town that fell into the hands of the Ottomans, being taken by them nearly a century before the fall of Constantinople, A.D. 1357. "The Emperor John Paleologus, to comfort himself for the loss of it, said, he had only lost a jar of wine and a sty for hogs, alluding to the magazines and cellars built by Justinian. Bajazet I., however, knowing the importance of the post for passing from Prusa to Adrianople, caused Gallipoli to be repaired in 1391, strengthening it with a huge tower, and made a good port for his galleys."‡ "On

* See note at p. 157, and Turner's Journal, vol. ii. p. 6. The increase of population appears to consist almost entirely of Greek refugees from Servia and Thrace. The Jews, Franks, and Armenians, Mr. Turner was informed by "our vice-consul" (a ragged Jew), did not amount to more than 200 souls. 2500 Turks were carried off by the plague of 1812. If this statement could be relied on, the disappearance of the Jews, who have been established here ever since the twelfth century, would be a most extraordinary circumstance. Wheler says: They reckon the number of inhabitants to be 12,000 Turks, 4 or 5000 Greeks, and as many Jews; Tournefort says, about 10,000 Turks, 3500 Greeks, and not quite so many Jews. The former Traveller adds: "They say it is about six miles about."

† Tournefort. Mr. Turner supposed it to be Genoese.

‡ Ibid. vol. ii. p. 148. (See p. 16 of this volume.) Sandys tells the story differently. "A little beyond Abydos," he says, "we

Digitized by Google



Engd on Steel.

by H Adlard.

IDANNINA.

Published by J Duncan 37 Paternoster Row Nov 1 1840

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

the south side of the city," Sandys says, "in a little plain, are sundry round hills, the sepulchres, as they say, of certain Thracian kings. The country above is champaign and not barren. The infinite number of Turkish graves by the high-way side and on the adjoining hills, do shew it to have been plentifully inhabited by them. Here is a ferry for transportation into Asia." A little corn is grown in the vicinity, but not enough for a fourth part of the population.

The modern Lampsacus (Lamsaki) is about two miles to the southward, on the Asiatic side, where the strait is about five miles over. "Lampsacus was one of the towns Xerxes gave to Themistocles. Magnesia was for his bread, Myus for his meat, and this for his wine; and it hath yet," says Wheler, "abundance of fine vineyards all about it, especially on the south parts, well hedged with pomegranate-trees. It had a good harbour, and was counted 21 miles (170 *stadia*) from Abydos. It now consists of about 200 houses, and hath a fine mosque, whose portico is supported by red marble pillars. It was formerly a Christian church, as they well prove by the crosses that yet remain carved on the capitals of the pillars." This Traveller was shewn several inscribed marbles. Mr. Hobhouse praises the beauty of its situation. The mountains, which are clothed with wood, approach within a few miles of the back of the town.

passed by the ruins of a castle, which the Turkish carmasals and galleys, still sailing by, salute with their ordnance, it being the first fort by them taken in Europe, who call it *Zembenick*. The besotted Grecians, being so far from attempting a recovery, that they jested at the loss, and said that they had but taken a hog-sty, alluding to the name, *Dochastron*." Callipolis is "some 30 miles distant."

Digitized by Google

THE HELLESPONT.

A LITTLE way below the tongue of low land on which Lamsaki stands, is the mouth of the Ægospotamos, now called the *Kara-ova-su*,* the name alone of which, Mr. Hobhouse remarks, is a history. The victory obtained by Lysander here, terminated the Peloponnesian war. The Hellespont here is about a mile and three-quarters wide. Below this are the mouths of the Practius (now *Moussa keui-su*) and the river of Percote (*Bourghas-su*). For several miles, the channel now preserves a nearly uniform width, and the banks on either side, cultivated with corn intermixed with vineyards, with hedge-rows and frequent villages, present a succession of beautiful scenery, more rich, however, than romantic, and closely resembling, Mr. Hobhouse says, the banks of the Menai, in Wales. A rocky strand, or mole, in the narrowest part, preserves the name of *Gaziler Iskelesi*, the Victor's Harbour, in memory of the landing of the first Ottoman invaders. Two or three miles further is a hill crowned with a scanty ruin, called Zemenic, the ancient Choiridocastron (Pig's Fort), where the standard of Soliman, the son of Orchan, was first planted on the Thracian shore. Below this, is the bay of *Ak-bashi-liman*, "reasonably conjectured to be the ancient port of Sestos," and further down, a deep inlet

* The Black-stone-water? "The naturalist," Mr. Hobhouse remarks, "might assist the topographer in identifying this memorable stream, by discovering on its banks the monstrous stone foretold by Anaxagoras, and still remaining in the days of Pliny, which fell from the sky....Plutarch, in his life of Lysander, states, that it was considered by some as portentous of the fatal battle of Ægospotamos." Its fall was preceded by a meteoric appearance, and there can be little doubt that it would be found to be of atmospheric formation.

Digitized by Google

called Koilia, and the bay of Maito (Madytus). About a mile and a half below the western point of that bay, are the castles which give name to the Strait. "The castles *Chanak-kalessi*, or *Sultanie-kalessi*, on the Asiatic side, and *Chelit-bawri* or *Kelidir-bahar* (the lock of the sea), on the European shore, are called by the Turks *Bogaz-hissarleri*,* and by the Franks, the Old Castles of Natolia and Roumelia. The town of Chanak-kalessi is the place properly called the Dardanelles, which name has been extended to the strait itself. *Chelit-bawri*," continues Mr. Hobhouse, "is but a small town, inconveniently built on the side of a jutting hill; nor is the castle considered of such importance as that of *Chanak-kalessi*, although the cannon of its batteries are as numerous and of the same enormous bore. The barrow of Hecuba is a hillock, not very distinguishable, in the high ground above the town, but within the walls. *Chanak-kalessi* is on a flat point, immediately opposite to the European fort; so that the two batteries, as the guns are immoveable, and are laid on each side at right angles with the strait, must, in the time of action, bombard each other. I was, indeed, shewn, in the streets of the Asiatic town, and in the neighbouring fields, several of the granite masses which had been discharged from *Chelit-bawri* during the passage of the English fleet in 1807. The interior castle was built by the Greeks. Above the fortress is a battery of German field-pieces, behind a redoubt of earth and fascines erected by French engineers. These guns are used in saluting, and would be more serviceable than the monsters of the castle." *Chanak-kalessi* is a very miserable town of about 2000 houses. The prin-

* *Boghas* signifies a strait.

Digitized by Google

sipal inhabitants are Jews, who trade in the wine produced in the neighbouring vineyards, which are in much repute. To the east of the suburbs, there is a large pottery, which supplies not only Constantinople, but Alexandria also with earthenware.* At the back of the town are many cemeteries belonging to the Turks, Jews, and Christians; and further inland, a tract of enclosed country in a state of high cultivation, extends to the Idæan mountains. A considerable stream, which has been supposed to be the ancient Rhodius, washes the western suburbs: it is crossed, not far from the castle, by a long wooden bridge.

These castles were formerly supposed to occupy the site of the ancient Sestos and Abydos. Wheler and Spon first pointed out the error, remarking, that "it is neither the narrowest part of these straits, nor yet could we find any mark of antiquity for it; but at a place much narrower, which we passed, about three or four miles further northward, we found considerable ruins on the shore of Natolia. This confirmed us in our opinion, and that the Dardanelli were built after the ruin of those places. Having since consulted Strabo, I am of opinion that the city Dardanus was thereabouts, and that thence came the corrupted modern name of Dardanelli applied to both castles."

To the north-east of *Chanak-kalessi*, the Hellespont forms a long bay between three and four miles across, terminating in a point of low land, called *Nagara-bornou*, or Pesquies Point. This is the spot alluded to by Sir G. Wheler as the site of Abydos, near which are considerable ruins and old foundations; and some way within the cape, there still remain a few scattered vestiges of an ancient town. A fort has been raised

* Hence its name, *chanak*, signifying pottery.

Digitized by Google

near the point of land. The Thracian side of the Strait, immediately opposite to Nagara Point, Mr. Hobhouse says, "is a strip of stony shore projecting from between two high cliffs; and to this spot, it seems, the European extremity of Xerxes' bridges must have been applied; for the height of the neighbouring cliffs would have prevented the Persian monarch from adjusting them to any other position. There is certainly some ground to believe this to have been the exact point of the shore, called from that circumstance *Apobathra*, since there is, within any probable distance, no other flat land on the Thracian side, except at the bottom of deep bays, the choice of which would have doubled the width of the passage. Here the strait appeared to us to be narrower than in any other part, although to those on board our frigate, who might be supposed skilled in judging of distances, it no where seemed to be less than a mile across: the ancient measurements, however, give only seven stadia, or 875 paces.—Sestos was not opposite to the Asiatic town, nor was the Hellespont in this place called the Straits of Sestos and Abydus, but the Straits of Abydus. Sestos was so much nearer the Propontis than the other town, that the ports of the two places were thirty stadia, more than three miles and a half from each other. The bridges were on the Propontic side of Abydus, but on the opposite quarter of Sestos; that is to say, they were on the coasts between the two cities, but nearer to the first than to the last: and supposing the few ruins before-mentioned about a mile from Nagara to belong to Abydus, that point answers sufficiently to the spot on the Asiatic coast to which the pontoons were affixed.* The passage of

* Herodotus states, that the bridge of Xerxes was thrown over the Hellespont between Sestos and Madytus, which seems suffi-

Digitized by Google

Xerxes is not more suggested to the traveller who sails through these straits, than the enterprise of Leander. It was the custom for those who would cross from Abydus to Sestos, to incline a mile out of the direct line; and those making the contrary voyage were obliged to have recourse to a similar plan, in order to take advantage of the current. The lover, therefore, had a perilous adventure to perform, who swam at least four miles to meet his mistress, and returned the same distance in the same night."*

ciently to correspond to the above description. He also states, that from Abydos to the opposite shore is a distance of *seven stadia*, or less than a mile. (Polyhymnia, § 33, 4.) Lucan, however, seems to make Sestos and Abydos opposite to each other (lib. 2)—

——Fama canit tumidum super æquora Xerxem
Construxisse vias, multum cum pontibus ausus
Europamque Asiæ, Sestonque admovit Abydo.

But this may be understood of the districts. If, however, the Dardanelles be the site of Dardanus, as Wheler supposes, we must look for Abydus much further north than Nagara. May not *Gazilar Iskelessi* be the site of Xerxes' bridge, as well as of Sotiman's exploit? At that point, Leunclavius asserts, that the Hellespont is narrower than at any other part; and his account of the width substantially agrees with the statement of Herodotus:—"*Græcum unum milliare non superat*:" whereas at Nagara, Mr. Hobhouse admits, "it no where seemed less than a mile across." Mr. Turner says, it is a mile and a half; and that if Herodotus be correct, it must have *widened considerably since*. Add to this, that Strabo evidently places Abydus at the *northern* extremity of the Strait, when he makes it to be its boundary towards the Propontis, which by no means answers to the point fixed upon by Sir George Wheler and Mr. Hobhouse. Le Chevalier supposes Cape Berbieri to be Dardanus, affirming it to be precisely seventy *stadia* from *Nagara-bornou*; but Wheler's opinion is far more likely to be correct, that *Chanak-kalessi* is the site of Dardanus, which was probably the name of the river mentioned by Mr. Hobhouse, and which has been corrupted into Dardanelle. It is impossible that the ancients should have neglected such a spot, and it corresponds to the situation of no other city.

* Hobhouse, pp. 805, 6.

Digitized by Google

Lord Byron and his companion, Mr. Ekenhead, succeeded, "with little difficulty," on a *second* attempt, in swimming across from a point of land nearly a mile and a half above *Chelit-bawri*, to the castle of Natolia. They were an hour and ten minutes in the water. But his Lordship did not attempt the *other half* of Leander's exploit, to swim back again. This, Mr. Turner affirms, he would have found impracticable, as he would then have had the current *against* him. "For the tide does not here run straight down, parallel with the banks, but, having been dashed violently into the bay of Maito, is, by the reaction, thrown to the opposite shore lower down; and thus, in the narrowest part of the gulf, flows transversely from the European to the Asiatic coast, whence it is again thrown off with vehemence into the Archipelago. Whatever, therefore, is thrown into the stream on this part of the European bank, must arrive at the Asiatic shore. I attempted (he adds) to swim across from Asia to Europe, starting from the northerly side of the castle; but the current was so completely in my teeth, that, with the most unremitted and violent exertion, I did not, in twenty-five minutes, advance more than one hundred yards, and was then obliged to give it up from utter exhaustion. Having been accustomed to swimming from my childhood, I have no hesitation in asserting, that no man could have strength to swim a mile and a half (the breadth of the strait in the narrowest part, a little northerly of the castles) against such a current; and higher up or lower down, the strait widens so considerably, that he would save little labour by changing his place of starting. I therefore treat the tale of Leander's swimming across both ways, as one of those fables to which the Greeks were so ready to give the name of history.

Digitized by Google

Quidquid Græcia mendax audet in historiâ." * There remains, however, one way of rescuing the legend from this imputation, and of saving the credit of Leander. As this is *not* the narrowest part of the Strait, and *Chanak-kalessi* is *not* Abydos, Leander may have achieved his exploit at some other point, where he would not have had this transverse current to contend against, and where the distance across is a third less; moreover, "when the wind is southerly," the stream is far less strong, and the Grecian lover may have availed himself of the more favourable season.

The mouth of the Strait, according to Tournefort, is five miles and a half over: it is defended by the new castles built by Mahommed IV. in 1659, to secure his fleet from the insults of the Venetians, who used to come and attack it in sight of the old castles. "The waters that pass through this canal," he adds, "are as rapid as if they flowed beneath a bridge: when the north wind blows, no ship can enter; but when it is south, you hardly perceive any current at all." The strait at Cape Berbieri has the appearance of being narrower than at the Dardanelles.†

* Turner's Tour, vol. i. pp. 44, 5. In a note, it is added: "Dr. Clarke says, that the servant of the Imperial Consul swam over both from Asia to Europe and from Europe to Asia. As, however, his authorities were probably the Jews of the town, who, in relating it to me, only mentioned his having swam from Europe to Asia, it may be permitted to doubt their statement."

† A small farm-house near the village on the Cape, was pointed out to Mr. Hobhouse as the place where the preliminaries to the treaty of peace between Great Britain and Turkey, were signed by Mr. Adair and the Minister of the Porte. About eight miles below the Dardanelles on the Thracian side, an English gentleman (Mr. Rob. Willis) had, some years before, "created on the shores of the Hellespont, a country-seat not to be rivalled by any villa on the shores of the Thames." But the Turks would not permit him to remain there.

Digitized by Google

FROM CONSTANTINOPLE TO ADRIANOPLE.

In proceeding to describe the route from the capital to the provinces, we shall avail ourselves chiefly of the narrative of Dr. E. D. Clarke, who, in the winter of 1801-2, travelled from Thessalonica to Constantinople, and returned by way of Bucharest and Vienna.

Three hours from the capital, proceeding westward along the coast of the Sea of Marmora, is the village of *Kutchuk Tchekmadji*, or *Ponte Piccolo* (Little Bridge), "remarkable only for its unwholesome situation, amid marshes and pools, and the dangerous *malaria* during summer." Lady M. W. Montagu, however, mentions her "very pleasant lodging" here, in a monastery of dervishes, having before it a large court with marble cloisters, a good fountain, and gardens, and commanding a very pleasing prospect of the sea.* Another three hours brings the traveller to *Buyuk Tchekmadji* (Great Bridge), a town of about 200 houses, with a fine harbour: it derives its name from a series of four stone bridges. To the north of the town, a lake extends to a considerable distance inland. The road continues to lie along the shore, passing through Pivatis (Bevados), where there is a bridge of thirty arches with a square tower, to Silivria,

* Her Ladyship tells a curious story of the aërial bed-chamber of the *hogia*, or schoolmaster, then stationed in the monastery. "I asked him," she says, "to shew me his own apartment, and was surprised to see him point to a tall cypress-tree in the garden, on the top of which was a place for a bed for himself, and a little lower, one for his wife and two children, who slept there every night. I was so much diverted by the fancy, I resolved to examine his nest nearer; but, after going up fifty steps, I found I had still fifty to go up, and must then climb from branch to branch with some hazard of my neck. I thought it, therefore, the best way to come down again."—Vol. ii. p. 192.

Digitized by Google

the ancient Selymbria, distant from Constantinople thirty-two miles. Here there is another "bridge of thirty arches over a nameless river."* The town contains about 2000 houses, and "a famous Greek church:" it is the see of a Greek bishop. The surrounding vineyards furnish an excellent wine.

Thus far, the route to Salonika is the same as the Adrianople road; but, two hours beyond Selivria, the latter turns off in a north-westerly direction to Tchorlu, where the Grand Signior has a *conak* or little seraglio, built for his use when travelling this road.† Dr. Clarke took this road in his journey from Constantinople to Bucharest. In the whole distance from Selivria to Tchorlu, a journey of eight hours or twenty-four miles, he mentions only one village, called Kunnekles. The country is open and level, consisting chiefly of a sandy loam,‡ in parts very rich, and abounds with *tumuli*.§ Tchorlu (the Turullus of the

* Lady M. W. Montagu says: "It is now a good sea-port, and neatly built enough, and has a bridge of thirty-two arches." This evidently gives name to the town. Dr. Clarke is mistaken in supposing that the termination *bria*, "so common in this country," answers to the Greek πολις and the Celtic *dunum*. It is the Celtic word for bridge, *briga* or *brig*, softened into *bria*; as Conimbriga into Coimbra, &c.

† Lady Montagu's Letters, vol. ii. p. 189. Dr. Clarke says: "If the Grand Signior should choose to travel through his dominions, he would not find an inhabitant in any of the towns to receive him. No sooner does the news arrive of the coming of Turks of distinction, than the people betake themselves to flight, and the stillness of death prevails in the streets."

‡ "The coast near Selivria consists of beds of sand-stone, clay, and green-stone: beyond, towards the East, the rocks are amygdaloid and sandstone."—MACMICHAEL'S *Journey from Moscow to Constantinople*, 4to. p. 165.

§ Dr. Macmichael says, that he traced these artificial mounds from the neighbourhood of the Valdai mountains, north of Moscow, across the steppe between the Bogh and the Dnieper, through

Digitized by Google

ancients, and the Tzorolus of the Byzantine historians) consists of 900 houses, the greater part inhabited by Turks; and contains "ruins of Turkish baths, and a neat mosque with a minaret. The town is paved with black marble." Its trade consists in wheat, barley, and wine. Proceeding over "wide and barren plains, as before," Dr. Clarke, at six hours from Tchorlu, turned a little out of the road, to halt at the village of Caristrania, near which the country is well cultivated; and in four hours more, reached Burghaz (or Borgase), a town of 2000 houses, carrying on a considerable trade in wine, flax, and pottery. "The internal appearance of Burghaz," he says, "is better than that of Turkish towns in general. It is famous for a manufacture of the small terra-cotta bowls for Turkish pipes, and for salted shrimps, which are caught in the Black Sea." From this place, the learned Traveller proceeded northward to *Kirk Iklisie* (Forty Churches). The Adrianople road turns off westward through Eski Babi, a small town with a handsome mosque and a very neat bridge, to Hafsa (or Apsa), where are ruins of a very fine caravanserai. About fifteen hours from Burghaz, the traveller reaches the first European capital of the Ottoman empire.

Bulgaria, and in Romania. They are found in every country of Europe, in many parts of Asia and Africa, and even in America. The barrows of Cornwall and Wiltshire, the cairns of Ireland and Scotland, and the *tumuli* of Greece and Asia Minor, are all sepulchral monuments of the same description. See an account of the opening of the *tumulus* of Achilles on the Sigæan promontory, in Chevalier's *Voyage de la Troade*, vol. ii. p. 320; and of the opening of some Siberian *tumuli* near Tomskoi, in Archæologia, vol. ii. p. 223.

Digitized by Google

ADRIANOPLE.

Dr. Macmichael, who, in the winter of 1817-18, journeyed from Moscow to Constantinople by way of Bucharest and Rudshuk, thus describes the appearance of the city as approached from the north. "Before we reached Adrianople, every vestige of winter had disappeared: not a particle of snow was observable on the surface of the country, which was well cultivated, and planted chiefly with mulberry-trees. About a mile from the city, we passed some low sand-hills to the left; the minarets of the famous mosque of Selim began to appear; and, instead of the coarse tomb-stones of the Turkish burying-grounds, which we had been hitherto accustomed to see, white marble monuments, with well-sculptured turbans, and ornamented with inscriptions in gilt characters, were crowded together by the road-side.

"Near the confluence of the Tundsha and the Arda with the Hebrus, and on the eastern bank of the former river, stands the first European capital of the Turkish empire, on a spot celebrated alike in the earliest traditions of antiquity, and in the records of more authenticated and modern history. It was at the junction of these three rivers, that the infuriated Orestes purified himself from the contamination of the murder of his mother; and a town erected in commemoration of that event, bore his name, and is frequently mentioned by the Byzantine authors. Here, also, where the Hebrus first changes its course from the eastward, to descend to the south, the Emperor Adrian afterwards built the city that, at a later period, enjoyed the dignity of a metropolis, in the province of *Hæmi-montus*, and still retains the ap-

Digitized by Google

pellation derived from its Roman founder.* 'By the pale and fainting light of the Byzantine annals,' says Gibbon, 'we can discern that Amurath I. subdued without resistance the whole province of Romania and Thrace, from the Hellespont to Mount Hæmus and the verge of the capital, and that Adrianople was chosen for the royal seat of his government and religion in Europe.'...Since that period, although it has lost the rank of a capital, Adrianople has been frequently chosen as the seat of government by succeeding sultans, and was the favourite residence of Achmet III., Mahommed IV., and Mustafa.† It is now the chief town of an extensive and important pashalik.

"We entered the city by a long, narrow bridge, built over the Tundsha, which falls into the Mariza at a little distance below the town to the south. Passing along narrow streets, darkened by wooden projections from the opposite houses, we stooped under a very low, ruined brick archway in the wall of the

* The modern Turkish name of Edrene is obviously a corruption of its ancient appellation.

† "Mahomed IV. and Mustafa, the brother of the reigning emperor, were so fond of it, that they wholly abandoned Constantinople, which humour so far exasperated the Janisaries, that it was a considerable motive to the rebellion that deposed them. Yet this man (Ahmed III.) seems to love to keep his court here. I can give you no reason for this partiality. It is true, the situation is fine, and the country all round very beautiful; but the air is extremely bad, and the seraglio itself is not free from the ill effect of it. The town is said to be eight miles in compass; I suppose they reckon in the gardens. There are some good houses in it,—I mean large ones; for the architecture of their palaces never makes any great show. The river Maritza, on which it is situated, is dried up every summer, which contributes very much to make it unwholesome. It is now a very pleasant stream. There are two noble bridges built over it."—Lady M. W. Montagu, vol. ii. p. 178.

Digitized by Google

fortress, and alighted at a khan crowded with Albanian troops of the Pasha.

"The population of the city is now estimated at something less than 90,000, of which one-third may be accounted Turks, the rest being Greeks, Armenians, and Jews; but the number of its inhabitants, and the extent of its commerce, have been greatly diminished by the plague of 1813, and by the disturbances and depredations committed by robbers, before the appointment of the present pasha. The two annual fairs which were held in the neighbourhood, to which Russians with furs, and Germans with cloth, were in the habit of resorting, no longer exist; still, however, Adrianople remains a place of considerable trade, consisting chiefly in its exports of raw silk, and the colouring substance used as a yellow dye, known generally by the name of *grains d'Avignon* (the fruit of a species of *lycium*). That part of the town called the Fortress, surrounded with a ruined wall, with here and there a dilapidated tower, is the chief residence of the Franks and Greeks.

"The mosque of Selim and the bazar of Ali Pasha are the pride of Adrianople, and merit the attention of every traveller. We paid a sequin to be permitted to ascend to the top of one of the four minarets of the mosque, which are fluted and of a very elegant construction. Three spiral staircases, winding round each other, separately conduct to the three different galleries of the minaret, to the highest of which you mount by 377 steps. On our descent, we were permitted, on condition of taking off our shoes, to enter the interior of the mosque itself. The floor was covered with carpets, and many lamps and ostrich eggs were suspended from the ceiling of the immense dome. In several recesses, similar to the side chapels

Digitized by Google

in large cathedrals, devout Turks were reading or praying. On the walls of the interior, were inscriptions in Turkish characters. On one side of the building stood an elevated chair or pulpit, to which a very narrow and steep flight of steps conducted. In the centre of the mosque was a spring, surrounded with a circular screen; and we were invited to apply our mouths to the top of the marble fountain, to imbibe the sacred water, which did not jet out, but merely rosé to the brim. Struck with the prodigious number of windows around me, I was attempting to count them, when our guide hastily intimated to us, that it was time to withdraw. The French consul, who had the kindness to accompany us on this occasion, explained this circumstance by telling us, that it was considered a bad omen among the Turks, to allow a Christian to make such a calculation, which, however, he had once made, and found to be 999. The exterior court of the mosque is paved with large slabs of white marble, and the antique columns of the cloisters built round it, are of various orders and dimensions, but all of the most costly materials, either *verde antico*, Egyptian granite, or Cipollino marble.* Near the building is a college of dervishes.

"From the mosque of Selim, which is reported to be one of the largest and most beautiful Mohammedan temples in the world, we walked to the famous bazar of Ali Pacha. It is a brick building, vaulted with arches, consisting of alternate red and white bricks. A gate at each extremity, and four lateral ones, form so many entrances, and its length is about 300 paces.†

* See a description of this mosque in Lady M. W. Montagu's Letters, vol. ii. p. 184.

† "Lady M. W. Montagu greatly exaggerates the dimensions of this bazar, when she asserts that it is half a mile long."

Digitized by Google

The *coup d'œil* offered by the entire length of the bazar of Ali, is more striking than any thing I afterwards witnessed at the bezesteins of Constantinople; and my companion was of opinion, that it far exceeds any buildings of a similar description that he had seen at Cairo. It is allotted to the more precious commodities, such as jewellery, shawls, muslins, &c. In another part of the town, we visited a bazar appropriated to tanners.

"Sepulchral monuments of white marble, many of which were covered with ornamental canopies of the same material, and all having a more splendid appearance than any we had hitherto seen, lined the road on each side for a considerable distance, as we turned our backs on the ancient capital of Amurath. The country before us assumed the appearance of a brown and barren heath, upon whose surface grey plovers were flying in numerous flocks." *

* Macmichael's Journey, pp. 148—158. About a league to the S.W. of Adrianople, Pococke says, is "a village called *Demelata*, where Charles XII. of Sweden resided some years, till he was removed to Demotica, as it is imagined, at the instigation of his enemies." This place, which occurs in the route to Rodosto, is about twelve miles S. of Adrianople. It is built on the N. and E. side of a hill, near "the *Keseldele-su*, which falls into the *Meritcheh* (Maritza) about a mile to the N.E. There are remains of the walls of a castle, and of several artificial grottoes: the Christians have two churches. Charles XII. lived at this place some time." Demotica is supposed to be the ancient Dyme. Higher up the river was Plotinopolis; perhaps at *Kara-agash*. Trajanopolis was 22 miles below Dyme, in the way to Heraclea. Pococke crossed the Maritza in a flat-bottomed boat, and travelled seven miles eastward, through a very fine country, to the village of *Ouzoun-kupri*; so named from a long bridge of 179 arches, constructed of hewn stone, and nearly half a mile long, built across the plain of the small river *Ergunch*. Sixteen miles further eastward, he came to the small town of "*Jeribol*, which seems to be a corruption from Hierapolis;" and the next day, went eight hours to Rodosto. "The whole country of Thrace I passed through," he says, "is an exceeding rich soil,

Digitized by Google

In proceeding from Adrianople towards Mount Hæmus, the road, after crossing the Maritza at *Djistr Mustafa*, continues along the right bank of the river as far as the village of Hevitza, where it is crossed again at a ferry. This river, which is no other than the ancient Hebrus, so celebrated in classic story as the scene of the tragical death of Orpheus, has its source in the valleys between Mount Hæmus and Rhodope; and after receiving various tributary streams, crosses the maritime road from Constantinople to Salonika, and falls into the Egean, nearly opposite the island of Samothrace. On approaching its banks from Bulgaria, the country becomes more uneven, and is broken into ragged granitic rocks. Wild roses intermingled with stunted oaks, were seen blooming in profusion in the month of February, and the banks were covered with the crocus. Swallows were flying about the stream, and storks were seen on the islands or sand-banks in the middle. Beyond the village of Karabona, the road enters upon a marshy tract, in some places under cultivation, and in eight hours further, leads to *Eski Zadra* (or *Sagra*). This town, which D'Anville conjectures to be the representative of the ancient Berœa, is finely situated on the southern declivity of some hills of the most graceful forms, and in the highest state of cultivation. Its eight mosques give it a very imposing appearance when approached from the south. The town is described by Dr. Mac-michael as "very Turkish," and its inhabitants re-

which produces in the downs the greatest plenty of herbage I ever saw in places entirely unimproved, and a great quantity of excellent corn, and also some flax. The country is mostly uneven, and has very little wood in it. So that the ancients, who say that Thrace is a barren country, except near the sea, were very much mistaken."

Digitized by Google

garded the strangers with an air of savage curiosity. The adjacent country is covered with vineyards and orchards of mulberry, cherry, and plum-tree.

Soon after leaving Eski Sagra, the signs of cultivation disappear. The road lies for some way in the bed of a river, the banks of which are of hornstone schist, and then crosses a ridge of low mountains, in which granitic points occasionally rise to the surface. A post-house is found at Kasanlik; two hours further, is Shipka, situated at the southern foot of Mount Hæmus, and the first village on this line of road in Roumelia; that mountain being the natural boundary between that province and Bulgaria. This village stands embosomed in walnut and mulberry-trees, on the skirts of a small plain, which is covered with *tumuli* of various shapes. Among them is a lofty conical one, with five smaller barrows disposed round it; and at some distance from this groupe, is one that is distinguished by a very long and truncated summit. The passage of the Balkar, (the name by which the mountain is designated,) from Shipka to Gablova, occupies five hours.* Dr. Macmichael was disappointed in his expectation of fine scenery, the general outline of the mountain being of a tame character, without any bold or prominent peaks. The strata on the northern side are generally calcareous, presenting occasionally beds of shale, limestone, and ochre, but generally covered with stately beech-trees; the summit is a blue or variegated marble, bare of trees; but, immediately on beginning to descend towards Roumelia, the rock changes to a hard argillaceous schist, with large veins of quarts, and the southern declivity is

* Dr. Macmichael was only five hours in travelling from Gablova to Shipka; we have reversed his route, but this can make little difference.

Digitized by Google

much more rapid. Gablova is remarkable for its neat appearance and beautiful situation: it stands at the southern extremity of a fruitful valley, and is surrounded with mulberry-trees. A romantic bridge, built over a fall of the Iantra, (the ancient Iatrus,) forms the entrance to the town. The road still continues to descend through forests of oak and beech, following the course of the Iantra, which it repeatedly crosses, and sometimes leaving the narrow defile to cross higher points; till, at the end of four hours from Gablova, the traveller arrives at Terniva, once the capital of Bulgaria, and supposed to occupy the site of Nicopolis *ad Hæmum*. "The houses, built close to the very edge of steep rocks, hang over the torrent of the river that winds its course through the confined and difficult pass below. Surrounded on all sides by mountains, the town stands in a situation at once bold, dangerous and picturesque. The streets, ill-paved and excessively dirty, are in many places darkened by wooden projections extending from the opposite houses, built, as is the case in all Turkish towns, so as nearly to touch each other at the top."

On leaving this place, the road is a steep descent, having, on the right, in a deep, narrow ravine, the Iantra, and, on the left, precipitous limestone rocks, planted, wherever there is soil, with vineyards. At the end of two hours is a Servian village; and two hours further, the Iantra is forded. The road then enters on a small plain covered with more than fifty barrows, to the left of which are seen the walls of a ruined town. Three hours from the ford, is another small nameless village, and several hamlets of *Tchinganehs*, or gipsies, are passed further on, as the traveller once more approaches the banks of the Iantra, flowing through a beautiful valley covered with dwarf

Digitized by Google

oaks, maple, and pollard elm-trees. Couriers are said to be sometimes detained as much as ten days in winter, on the banks of this river, waiting for the torrent to become fordable. On the other side, the road ascends a steep hill, to the large village of Bielo, consisting chiefly of huts built of rough stones, cemented with mud, thatched with reeds, and surrounded with a high fence of basket-work: there is a ruined mosque, and a considerable proportion of the inhabitants are Turks, the rest being Servians or Bulgarians.

The whole of the tract thus far from the foot of the Balkan, is an uneven and wooded country, a fine view of which is obtained from an immense *tumulus*, at least fifty feet in height, on an eminence beyond Bielo. The road now descends through a fine valley, and then passes over a rich tract covered with the wild apple, the hazel, the beech, and the elm, to the Bulgarian village of Cresto, situated in the midst of orchards on a hill. The low and dark houses of the peasants here, who are of the Greek Church, are made of twigs wattled together, each being surrounded with a fence, within which the winter provision of Indian corn, is piled up in tall conical baskets inverted. Two burying-grounds, one Christian and the other Mohammedan, are attached to the town. For the next six hours, the traveller passes over a tract that appears almost a desert, although the soil is everywhere good. Dr. Macmichael describes it as a fine, unenclosed, undulating country, intersected occasionally by deep ravines, with here and there a few wild apple and elm trees; and traces of the labour of man were observable in small patches of maize. Buffaloes were seen grazing in herds. Fountains by the way side, ornamented with verses from the Koran, are of frequent occurrence; and sometimes Turkish burying-grounds are

Digitized by Google

seen amid the wild waste, at a great distance from any habitation; the expressive memorials of a once flourishing population. On approaching Rudshuk, the road passes for some time along the foot of some bold, perpendicular, calcareous rocks, full of caverns; and at length leads to the banks of a small stream, the *Kara-lom*, flowing on the south side of that town, to join the Danube. The appearance of Rudshuk in 1818, is thus described. "The castle, which, since its destruction by the Russians, remains untouched, stands upon a limestone rock, close to the edge of the Danube, whose banks in the immediate neighbourhood are, in many places, twenty feet high, very precipitous, and formed of beds of sand and clay. The breadth of the river may be estimated at three quarters of a mile; the stream is very rapid, and the waters, at the time of our passage, were very muddy. Little has been done towards repairing the town of Rudshuk, since it was burned by the Russians (in 1810); and we waded through its muddy streets among ruined buildings, till we reached the strangers' room at the Turkish post-house."

When Dr. Clarke passed through Rudshuk in 1801, it was a flourishing town, strongly fortified with ramparts and a fosse, and containing, according to his statement, 20,000 houses, 7,000 of which belonged to Armenians and Greeks, and the rest to Turkish inhabitants. A considerable commerce was carried on with Vienna, the exports consisting of cloth, indigo, corn, and wine; and it was well supplied with provisions of every kind. He describes the Danube as *two miles* wide at this part, but "its shores low and mean, without the slightest feature of sublimity; the channel filled with a number of shallows and paltry denuded islets, which, by dividing the current, diminish its grandeur,"

Digitized by Google

Those persons who form their ideas of the majesty of the Danube from the extent of its course, will, he remarks, in no part, perhaps, of its channel, find them realized by viewing the torrent. "It is almost always yellow with mud, and throughout its whole course, its sands are auriferous; but, in dignity and sublimity of scenery, it can nowhere be compared either with the Rhine, or with those magnificent rivers which fall into the north of the Gulf of Bothnia, or with the Severn, or even with any of the principal pellucid waters of Wales." *

The route by which Dr. Clarke reached the banks of the Danube, has already been traced as far as Kirk-Ikilisie; "a large but miserable" walled town, containing between three and four thousand houses, (only 500 of which belong to Greeks,) several mosques, and many shops. Dirt and wretchedness were everywhere conspicuous. The trade consists in corn, a wine of a bright gold colour, resembling champaign in flavour, and a conserve made of the inspissated juice of boiled grapes. The nearest port upon the Black Sea, is Æsopoli, distant twelve hours: it is a journey of fourteen hours to Ineada or Tineada.† Yet, although this town is so near the sea, the small river upon which it stands, the *Deuredori* (the ancient Tearus)

* The opposite town on the Wallachian side, which also enjoys a considerable commerce, presents, in its name, a curious specimen of the varieties of orthography, being written by different travellers, Georgiova, Giurdsgio, Giurdcsov, Giurgevo, and pronounced (Dr. Clarke says) Yergiov. Rudshuk is also written Rustschuk, Ruscek, and Russig.

† Supposed by D'Anville to be the ancient Thynnias. Dr. Neale, who writes it Eneada, contends for the probability of its being the town founded by Æneas, which Pomponius Mela places near the mouth of the Hebrus.—(See Virg. Æn. iii. 18.) The harbour of Ineada affords the only safe anchorage between the Danube and the Bosphorus.

Digitized by Google

flows in a westerly direction, and joins the Maritza or Hebrus.

On leaving Kirk-Iklisie, the road lies through a hilly country to a village called *Hericler*, distant four hours; and four hours further, Dr. Clarke halted for the night, at a ruined village called Kannara. The next day, at the end of four hours, he reached the miserable village of Fachi; and in five hours more, that of Beymilico, the inhabitants of which, with the exception of a single Turk, were all Bulgarians of the Greek Church. "Notwithstanding their extreme poverty, their houses were clean, and the beauty of the women was remarkable." The whole district was at this time beset by desperate banditti, who had burned several villages, and others were found deserted by their inhabitants. In every village, storks were seen building their nests (April): the strange noise they make, resembles, Dr. Clarke says, a cherry-clack. Several pelicans were seen lying dead on the road; a circumstance he was unable to account for. The woods which were passed, consisted of small and stunted trees.

The next day, after a ride of five hours, chiefly over plains covered with underwood, in which persons were frequently observed coursing with greyhounds, the Author reached Carnabat; a town of 700 houses, (about a third Greeks,) agreeably situated in a plain at the northern foot of a ridge of hills. The country near it is well cultivated, and the town afforded "plenty of good wine, limpid and colourless as water, tasting like cider." The storks, from the prodigious numbers in which they appeared, seem to have made this place their metropolis. A second ridge of hills, over which the next day's route lay, divides the plain

Digitized by Google

of Carnabat from another level tract; and at the end of four hours, the road begins to ascend the hilly pass over the Balkan, called the *Boccase*. "Hitherto," says Dr. Clarke, "we had been somewhat surprised that nothing like Alpine scenery characterised the approach to Mount Hæmus. Nor is this range of mountains any where remarkable for grandeur of scenery, or for great elevation. The defile here, however, might be considered as possessing somewhat of that character, but in no eminent degree: it was a hilly pass, full of woods of oaks. In the midst of it, we crossed a rapid river called *Kamtchi-su*, and saw, at a distance, a mountain entirely covered with snow; but there was nothing to remind us of the great Alpine barriers. The appearance of Mount Hæmus may rather be likened to Welsh scenery, where every swelling *mountainet* is insular; and nothing is seen of that towering of broken cliffs and heights, one above another, which distinguishes the cloud-capped, congregated summits of the Alps and the Pyrenees, of Caucasus and Lebanon." In about eight hours from Carnabat, they reached a scattered village of 200 houses, lying between two mountains called *Chalighkavak*: half the inhabitants were Turks, and half Bulgarians. The next day, the scenery improved in grandeur, and several fine views were afforded by the opening of a narrow defile of the Balkan, as they began to descend to the Bulgarian village of *Dragoeka*. "As far as the eye extends, but at a great depth below the traveller, rich plains are seen, spreading before the view all the wealth of husbandry. The mountains are cultivated even to their summits, and covered with vineyards, and the plains with plantations of fruit-trees growing amid the corn: being now in blossom,

Digitized by Google

their gaudy flowers, above the deep verdure of the corn-fields, exhibited the most cheerful aspect imaginable." The whole way from Dragoelu to Shumla, a distance of four hours, the land is described to be cultivated like a garden. An hour before reaching that town, the *Kamtchi-su* is again crossed. Shumla, which Dr. Clarke supposed to be Marcianopolis,* is a place of some trade, chiefly in wine and in ready-made Turkish clothes for the capital: "a great number of tailors are kept constantly at work here, their getting the German cloth at a lower rate than the merchants of Constantinople, enabling them to undersell, at a great profit, the makers of Turkish apparel in that city." Dr. Clarke describes it as a considerable town, well fortified with ramparts and a double fosse: it is placed between two mountains, in a fertile but unwholesome plain, being particularly subject to *malaria*. The same level country, in high cultivation, continues as far as the Turkish village of *Tatchekeui*, distant three hours; it then becomes rather more hilly. Six hours further is the town of *Lazgarat* (Rasgrad?), consisting of 3000 houses, of which one-third belong to Greeks, and containing several good shops. In this day's route, several villages were seen at a short distance from the road, and every where the land was neatly kept and cultivated. Two hours from Lazgarat, are two immense *tumuli*, surmounted with large trees, and similar sepulchres appear all round the town. The next day, a ride of five hours brought the travellers to Torlach, a considerable village; two hours further,

* D'Anville places Marcianopolis, which was the capital of *Mœsia Inferior*, near the confluence of two small rivers flowing towards the Euxine, and says, that the Bulgarians call it *Preslaw*, the Illustrious City. It was twenty-four miles from Odessus (Varna.)

Digitized by Google

they passed through Pisanitza, and in five hours more, reached the Danube at Rudshuk.*

That part of the ancient Mœsia which, among modern geographers, bears the name of Bulgaria, lying between Mount Hæmus and the Danube, is styled by the learned Traveller "the most fertile plain, perhaps, of the whole earth." The native Christian inhabitants of this and the adjoining province, are collectively called *Serbiani* (Servians), all being in fact of the same Slavonic race, and speaking dialects of the Illyrian or Slavonian language. The original Bulgarians are supposed to have been a Tatar tribe who, in the fifth century, emigrated from the banks of the Volga, (whence their name,) but soon adopted the

* Lasgarat is written Rasgrad and Hrasgrad in the maps, and this orthography is adopted by Dr. Clarke himself in the map of his route; according to which it might be Rasci-grad, the town of the Rascians, a Slavonic tribe. Dr. Neale, however, says, that "Ras-grade, or Laz-garad, is a corruption of Lazi-gorod, the city of the Lazi (slingers), one of the vagabond tribes from the valleys of the Caucasus." He estimates the population at 10,000 souls; one-third Greeks, the remainder Jews and Turks. It contains two small mosques, and is surrounded with mud walls in a ruinous state. At Torlach, which he writes Torlaqui, distant five leagues, the population is principally Turkish. "A sect of dervishes take their origin here, who live by roaming over Turkey, subsisting on the superstitious terrors which they infuse into the minds of the peasants. They carry with them in these peregrinations an old man, whom, like the Xamolxis of the ancient Getæ, or the Lama of the Tatars, they impose upon the credulous as a living incarnation of the Divinity. They have an establishment for him in the greatest state at the best house in the village. Ever and anon, the old Lama prognosticates some impending public calamity, such as earthquake, pestilence, or famine; which is only to be averted by sending him rich gifts. The terrified peasantry hasten to propitiate the Divine wrath by laying at the feet of the holy man all their little wealth."—NEALE'S *Travels*, p. 269. The Author calls the next place where he slept Pisanza, describing it as a poor village of straggling huts, covering in a picturesque manner the side of a steep slate rock.

Digitized by Google

dialect of the Slavonic inhabitants, retaining a few words only of their former language. The most southern districts in which the Bulgarian is spoken, according to Colonel Leake, are, on the western side of Macedonia, some villages in the vicinity of Koritza, and, on the eastern side, the hills bordering the great plains of Thessalonica, Pella, and Edessa. From this latter district, as their southern boundary, the Christians who speak the Bulgarian dialect extend, with scarcely any interruption, through all the northern part of Macedonia Proper, the interior of Thrace, and the whole of Mœsia to the Danube. In some parts of Macedonia, it is not uncommon to meet with persons among the lower classes speaking three languages, Turkish, Bulgarian, and Romaic. The Bulgarian dialect appears to bear a close affinity to the Malo-Russian.*

* See a Comparative Vocabulary of the Malo-Russian and Bulgarian Dialects, Clarke's Travels, 8vo. vol. viii. p. 238. Col. Leake, in his Researches in Greece, has given a "*Pentaglossa*" vocabulary of the Romaic, Albanian, Wallachian, and Bulgarian dialects, shewing that they have scarcely any thing in common, either in their construction or vocabulary. The instances of resemblance in the Wallachian, to the Latin and Italian languages, are too numerous to be otherwise accounted for, than by the fact, that Dacia was colonised by the Romans. "That the original Slavonic possessed a considerable affinity with the Sanscrit, may be gathered from the numerous traces of this ancient Indian language still to be recognised in the ecclesiastical dialect of Russia, notwithstanding the changes which entered into its formation in the ninth century. But of this common and primeval Slavonic dialect, no monument has reached our times. Long before this translation of the Bible was made, that people had separated into a number of distinct tribes, and spread themselves over an immense extent of country, by which means a number of idiomatical modifications were formed, many of which maintain their distinctive character in the present day. These dialects have been divided into two classes: I. The *Oriental Division*, comprising the Russian, Serbian, Croatian, Bulgarian, and the dialect spoken with certain minor diversi-

Digitized by Google

The history of the Bulgarians is obscure, and, except as incidentally connected with that of the Roman empire, not very interesting. Gibbon, who, on the authority of the Greek writers, derives them from the Huns, (an appellation which he admits to be vague and uncertain,) distinguishes them from the Slavonians; yet, in the faint outline of their early annals, the boundaries of the two tribes are, he says, not to be defined.* They had crossed the Danube before the reign of Justinian; but their first formidable irruptions, and their permanent settlements in the Mœsian provinces, date from his reign. From the middle of the sixth century to the fall of Constantinople in the fifteenth, they were alternately the allies, the tributaries, and the victorious antagonists of the Greek emperors; at one time, exacting an annual tribute as

ties in Carniola, Stiria, and Carinthia. II. The *Western Class*, which comprehends the Slovakian, Bohemian, Polish, and the two Sorabian or Wendish dialects spoken in Upper and Lower Lusatia. But many of these contain a number of subdivisions; as, for instance, under the general name of *Serbian*, is comprehended the Slavone, Dalmatian, Bosnian, Ragusian, and Siebenburgian dialects. Numerous, however, as these dialectical branches are, and widely as some of the tribes by which they are spoken are separated from each other, the general affinity is still abundantly predominant, and is, indeed, so great, that the inhabitants of the different countries have little difficulty in making themselves understood to each other."—HENDERSON'S *Biblical Researches*, p. 64. The dialect into which the Scriptures are translated, is the Serbian.

* Ch. 42. In a subsequent chapter, (ch. 55,) he admits, that "the unquestionable evidence of language attests the descent of the (modern) Bulgarians from the original stock of the Slavonian race; and the *kindred* bands of Servians, Bosnians, Rascians, Croatians, Wallachians, &c., followed either the standard or the example of the leading tribe·····Chalcocondyles," (it is added,) "a competent judge, affirms the identity of the language of the Dalmatians, Bosnians, Servians, Bulgarians, Poles, and Bohemians. The same author has marked the separate idiom of the Hungarians."

Digitized by Google

the price of their friendship; at another, defeated and brought into nominal subjection; but always occupying a large portion of European Turkey, and extending their ravages over Greece. Their treaty of peace and alliance with Michael III. in the year 860, when their prince and all his followers were baptized, and received a gift of the desolate country about Mount Rhodope, appears to have laid the foundation of their power in Northern Greece. Lychnidus (afterwards named Achris or Achrida) became the capital of a Bulgarian kingdom,* which attained its zenith about the middle of the tenth century, when Simeon, under the walls of Constantinople, accepted the submission of the Emperor Romanus Lecapenus; and his son Peter, soon afterwards, received the emperor's grand-daughter in marriage, with the title of *Basileus*. It declined from the beginning of the eleventh century, when Samuel (or Mocrus), who had made conquests even in the Morea, was defeated, and his capital taken and rifled by the Emperor Basil II. Although Roman garrisons remained in possession of Achrida, the Bulgarians appear to have been still masters of the greater part of the surrounding country.

About the year 1040, soon after their king Peter Deleanus had taken Dyrrachium, the whole of the Nicopolitan province, which included Epirus and Acarnania, surrendered, with the exception of Naupactus (Lepanto,) to the Bulgarian conqueror. In the

* "The new conquerors successively acquired, by war or by treaty, the Roman provinces of Dardania, Thessaly, and the two Epirus; (they were assigned to the Bulgarian kingdom in the dispute of ecclesiastical jurisdiction between the patriarchs of Rome and Constantinople, A.D. 869;) the ecclesiastical supremacy was translated from the native city of Justinian; and, in their prosperous age, the obscure town of Lychnidus, or Achrida, was honoured with the throne of a king and a patriarch."—GIBBON, c. 55.

Digitized by Google

year 1186, a rebellion of the united Bulgarians and Wallachians, led to the foundation of a second Bulgarian kingdom, of which Ternovo (Terniva) * became the capital. In those times, Dardania and those parts of Macedonia which had been included in the first Bulgarian kingdom, were occupied by the Servians (Σκλαι), † with whose monarch Cantacuzene was for a long time at war, and was at length compelled to make a disadvantageous peace, ceding to him all the country to the north of the great plain of Bottiæa, and a part even of Upper Macedonia. The capital of the Servian kingdom was Scopia upon the Axius. Servia, a strong town on the borders of Thessaly, took its name from a colony of that people. "Thus," remarks Col. Leake, after giving the brief outline of which we have availed ourselves, "a succession of people of Slavonian race and language may be traced, as occupying the north of Greece, from the

* The Bulgarian patriarchate, according to Gibbon, was successively transferred from Justinianea prima to Lychnidus, and from Lychnidus to Ternovo.

† The word slave (*esclave*) is supposed to be derived from Sclavonian or Slavonian, and to have been introduced, in the eighth century, into oriental France, "where the princes and bishops were rich in Slavonian captives. From thence the word was extended to general use, to the modern languages, and even to the style of the last Byzantines. The confusion of the Σκλαι or Servians with the latin *Servi*, was still more fortunate and familiar."—GIBBON. This throws little light on the etymology of the words. The word *Slava*, in the language of the people whose national appellation it supplied, is equivalent to Σκλος, *laus*, glory or renown. The Slavonians are first mentioned under this name (written by the Greeks Σκλαβηνοι) by Jordanus, A.D. 376. They are supposed to be the same as the Κροβυζοι (Krivitxi) of Herodotus and other ancient historians, a branch of the *Sauromatæ*, or Sarmatian family. Ptolemy mentions the *Serbi* as one of the most celebrated tribes: hence, probably, the word Servian.—See HENDERSON'S *Biblical Researches*, p. 61,

Digitized by Google

sixth, or at least the ninth, to the fifteenth century. Their long residence in these countries seems demonstrated with not less certainty by the numerous names of places of Slavonian derivation, still to be found in every part of Greece; although with greater frequency, as might naturally be expected, in the northern, than in the southern districts. In many instances, the ancient name has received a Slavonian termination in *ista*, *itza*, *itzi*, *avo*, or *ovo*: in others, the name is entirely Slavonian, and often the same as that of places in the most distant parts of Russia or other countries where dialects of the Illyric are spoken." * From the Euxine to the Adriatic, in the state of captives or subjects, or of allies or enemies of the Greek empire, they overspread the land;† and Slavonian pirates were the terror of the Italian traders, till, towards the close of the tenth century, the freedom and sovereignty of the Gulf were effectually vindicated by the Venetian Republic. From the latter end of the fourteenth century, the history of the Slavonian nations south of the Danube, belongs to the annals of the Ottoman empire.

The other chief towns in Bulgaria are, Silistria, Nicopoli, and Widin, all on the Danube, Sophia, on the Isca, and Varna, on the coast of the Euxine. Silistria, or Dristra, situated at the mouth of the small river Missovo, 155 miles N. N. E. of Adrianople, is a well fortified town, with a population

* Leake's Researches in Greece, pp. 376—80. Gibbon, c. 55.

† "Among these (Slavonian) colonies, the Chrobatians, or Croats, who now attend the motions of an Austrian army, are the descendants of a mighty people, the conquerors and sovereigns of Dalmatia....The ancestors of these Dalmatian kings, dwelt in the White Croatia, in the inland regions of Silesia and Little Poland, thirty days' journey, according to the Greek computation, from the Sea of Darkness."—Gibbon, c. 55.

Digitized by Google

of about 20,000 souls. Nicopoli, situated 164 miles N. W. of Adrianople, was founded by the emperor Trajan; but the victories of the Roman are forgotten in the disastrous battle fought between the Hungarian king Sigismond and Sultan Bajazet, near this city, in 1396.* The modern city, the see of a Greek archbishop, and the residence of a *sanjak-bey*, contains an ancient castle and several handsome mosques and baths, with a population loosely stated at 10,000 souls. It stands on a hill overlooking the Danube. Widin (Widden, Vidin) is a considerable city, well fortified and better built than most Turkish towns. It is the seat of a pasha of three tails and of a Greek archbishop, and carries on a considerable trade in rock-salt, corn, and wine. The population is supposed to amount to 20,000 souls. It is 104 miles E.S.E. of Belgrade. Varna, the ancient *Odessus*, is a walled town, situated at the mouth of a river of the same name, which falls into a bay of the Black Sea; it carries on a trade in corn, wine, butter, and cheese. The population is estimated at 16,000. It is the see of a Greek bishop, and contains two Greek churches and twelve mosques. Dr. Neale, who landed at this place in going from Constantinople to Jassy, thus describes its appearance. "The high ruins of some quadrangular towers announced at some distance the importance of the ancient city of Odessus, celebrated in history as the earliest sea-port of the Milesians on the Euxine, and, in modern times, for the defeat and death of Ladislaus, king of Hungary, whose army was totally destroyed in the adjoining valley by Amurath I. There is now a ruinous wooden pier projecting into the bay; but so shallow is the water, that our boats grounded before we reached it; and we

* See page 19.

Digitized by Google

landed by stepping from the deck on a bullock's wain, which was driven into the water to receive our luggage and the crew of the *kaique*." *

Sophia is the fourth city in importance in European Turkey, ranking next to Adrianople and Salonika in respect to population: its inhabitants are stated to amount to between 40 and 50,000 souls. It may properly be considered, therefore, as the capital of Bulgaria; and it is the see of a Romish bishop, as well as of a Greek metropolitan. It was founded by the Emperor Justinian on the ruins of the ancient Sardica.† Its hot baths are still frequented, and being in the high road from Constantinople to Belgrade, it is a place of considerable trade. This route, however, is seldom taken by modern travellers; and we must content ourselves with extracting the very imperfect description of it contained in Lady M. W. Montagu's Letters, as serving to give a general idea of the character of the country. The Emperor's ambassadors and the few English that travel hither, she says, always descend the Danube to Nicopolis; but that

* Neale's Travels, p. 264. The Author does not give any opinion, as to whether the shallowness of the water arises from the formation of sand-banks, or from the retiring of the waters; but, the fact is important, as sanctioning the representation, that the waters both of the Euxine and of the Sea of Azof, *annually diminish*.—(See MOD. TRAV. *Russia*, pp. 212, 241.) At the end of a days' journey from this place, "ascending, by deep roads, slate hills covered with hazel copses," Dr. Neale reached a Bulgarian hamlet called *Dafne*, built on a steep, commandng a distant view of the Black Sea. His next stage was *Yeni-bazar*, a modern town of about 300 families, of whom about 50 are Bulgarians, the rest being chiefly emigrants from Wallachia and Moldavia. From this place, his route lay through an open, fertile, but thinly-peopled tract to Kioui, Rasgrad, Toriaqui, Pisanza, and Ruschuk. He describes the Bulgarians as generally a humane, kind-hearted, hospitable people.

† Justinian was born at Tauresium near Sardica.—See GIBBON, c. xl.

Digitized by Google

river being still frozen, in the month of March (1717), Mr. Wortley and his lady resolved to take the direct route from Belgrade to the capital; and she represents herself as having accomplished a journey which had not been undertaken by any Christian, since the time of the Greek emperors.

FROM BELGRADE TO CONSTANTINOPLE.

"We crossed the deserts of Servia, almost quite overgrown with wood, through a country naturally fertile. The inhabitants are industrious; but the oppression of the peasants is so great, they are forced to abandon their houses, and neglect their tillage; all they have being a prey to the janizaries, whenever they please to seize upon it. We had a guard of 500 of them, and I was almost in tears every day, to see their insolences in the poor villages through which we passed.* After seven days' travelling through thick woods, we came to Nissa, once the capital of Servia, situated on a fine plain on the river Nissava, in a very good air, and so fruitful a soil, that the great plenty is hardly credible... The happiness of this plenty is scarcely perceived by the oppressed people. After four days' journey from this place over the mountains, we came to Sophia, situated in a large, beautiful plain on the river Isca, and surrounded with distant moun-

* In another letter, her Ladyship writes: "The desert woods of Servia, are the common refuge of thieves, who rob fifty in a company, so that we had need of all our guards to secure us; and the villages are so poor, that only force could extort from them necessary provisions. Indeed, the janizaries had no mercy on their poverty, killing all the poultry and sheep they could find, without asking to whom they belonged... When the pashas travel, it is yet worse.... such is the natural corruption of a military government!" Vol. ii. p. 99.

Digitized by Google

tains. It is hardly possible to see a more agreeable landscape. The city itself is very large and extremely populous. Here are hot baths, very famous for their medicinal virtues.* Four days' journey from hence, we arrived at Philippopolis, after having passed the ridges between the mountains of Hæmus and Rhodope, which are always covered with snow. This town is situated on a rising ground near the river Hebrus, and is almost wholly inhabited by Greeks. Here are still some ancient Christian churches. † They have a bishop, and several of the richest Greeks live here; but they are forced to conceal their wealth with great care, the appearance of poverty being all their security against feeling it in earnest. The country from hence to Adrianople, is the finest in the world. Vines grow wild on all the hills; and the perpetual spring they enjoy makes every thing gay and flourishing." ‡

In another Letter, her Ladyship states, that she observed few remains of antiquity. "We passed near the piece of an arch which is commonly called Trajan's Gate, from a supposition that he made it to shut up the passage over the mountains between Sophia and Philippopolis. But I rather believe it the remains of

* In a subsequent letter, Sophia is described as "one of the most beautiful towns in the Turkish empire." The ruins of Justinian's church are stated to be little more than a heap of stones.

† "I found at Philippopolis, a sect of Christians that call themselves Paulines. They shew an old church, where, they say, St. Paul preached; and he is their favourite saint, after the manner that St. Peter is at Rome."—Vol. ii. p. 105.

‡ Works, vol. ii. pp. 87—90. Philippopoli, which is in Roumelia, before the earthquake of 1818, which almost destroyed it, contained a population estimated at 30,000 souls. It is situated on a small island formed by the Maritza, which here becomes navigable; distance from Adrianople, 95 miles, W.N.W.

Digitized by Google

a triumphal arch, though I could not see any inscription; for, if that passage had been shut up, there are many others that would serve for the march of an army; and notwithstanding the story of Baldwin, earl of Flanders, being overthrown in these straits, after he won Constantinople, I do not fancy the Germans would find themselves stopped by them at this day. It is true, the road is now made, with great industry, as commodious as possible for the march of the Turkish army. There is not one ditch or puddle between this place and Belgrade, that has not a large, strong bridge of planks built over it. But the precipices are not so terrible as I had heard them represented. At these mountains, we lay at the little village *Kiskoi*, wholly inhabited by Christians, as all the peasants of Bulgaria are. Their houses are nothing but little huts raised of dirt baked in the sun; and they leave them, and fly into the mountains, some months before the march of the Turkish army, who would else entirely ruin them by driving away their whole flocks. This precaution secures them in a sort of plenty; for, such vast tracts of land lying in common, they have the privilege of sowing what they please, and are generally very industrious husbandmen. I drank here several sorts of delicious wine." *

We must now hasten to complete our description of ancient Thrace, by taking up the route, already traced as far as Selivria, which leads

FROM CONSTANTINOPLE TO SALONIKA.

THREE hours from Selivria, following the old Roman military road, which is still entire in many parts of the route, and has been paved with black

* Works, vol. ii. pp. 107—8.

Digitized by Google

marble, the traveller arrives at *Eski Eregli* (old Heraclea). In spite of its imposing name, the village contains scarcely any vestiges of antiquity, but only a few fragments of small columns. The episcopal city of Heraclea, more anciently called Perinthus, and now distinguished as *Buyuk Eregli* (*i. e. Heraclea Major*), is two hours distant, on the coast of the Sea of Marmora, and was visited by Dr. Spon and Sir George Wheler in their voyage to Constantinople. "This town," says Wheler, "hath a good harbour, whose mouth lieth east of it, turning about so, that it maketh a peninsula. It bends round in the form of an amphitheatre, and may have about four or five miles in circumference. The town lieth in the strait, having the sea on the one side, and the port on the other. We made haste ashore, soon discovering it to be a place of great antiquity by the foundations of the old walls, especially on the west side and towards the haven; where, strewed up and down, we saw abundance of fragments of marble statues, cornices, bulls' heads, wreaths, and broken pillars; and of such are compiled the present buildings of the town.....We copied several good inscriptions; especially one where we found the name Perinthus, which this city bore in the time of the first Roman emperors; it being more anciently called Heraclea, which it regained in the time of the latter emperors, and yet retains the same.....This inscription is on the pedestal of a statue erected to the honour of the Emperor Severus, whom they had reason to honour as their benefactor, because he subjected Byzantium to them, at which he was offended, because that town had espoused the party of Pescennius Niger against him.* We found here

* Wheler mentions a medal of this town in the possession of Dr. Spon, with the head of Septimius Severus on one side, and, on the

Digitized by Google

another inscription of the Emperor Hadrian in the cathedral church, besides one more in the town, being only a sepulchral stone of a Roman. As poor a place as it now is, it is an archbishop's seat, whose church is one of the best now standing in Turkey. And in the times of the Christian emperors, this metropolitan was one of the three who, with the patriarch, had the privilege of crowning the emperor at his inauguration. In the cathedral church, in a little chapel at the right hand, is the tomb of one of our countrymen, who died here while he was embassador from his majesty of Great Britain; Sir Edward Guitts,—written in Greek characters thus: ΓΟΥΙΤΣ."*

From *Eski Eregli*, it is reckoned a journey of nine hours and a half to Rhodosto, the ancient *Rhædestus* or *Bisanthe*, and called by the Turks *Tekïrdagh*. The road lies over a bleak, inhospitable country: *tumuli* are in view the whole way. Wheler describes "Rodeste" as "a town at least as big as Gallipoli and more populous, situated upon the brow of a hill at the bottom of a bay, and maketh a goodly show towards the sea. We could number ten or twelve mosques by the minarets; the Greeks have also, they

reverse, a galley with its sails hoisted, and the legend Πρωτων Νεωκορων, which he professes himself unable to explain. *Neokoros* signifies a sacristan or temple-keeper, and, when assumed as an epithet by the inhabitants of a whole city or province, implied that they were the temple-keepers or devoted servants of the deity. Thus, the city of the Ephesians was νεωκορος της μεγαλης θεας Αρτεμιδος, a worshipper of the great Goddess Diana.—Acts xix. 35. The adulation of those times frequently ascribed divine honours to the emperors, and in this medal it seems to be intimated, that the Perinthians honoured Severus as their patron deity.

* No such name as this occurs in a list of ambassadors to Constantinople extending from 1581 to 1804. Sir *Peter Wyche* comes nearest to it, who was ambassador from Charles I.

Digitized by Google

say, many churches there." Dr. Clarke says: "Rhodosto contains 10,000 houses. It has more Greeks than Turks for its inhabitants, besides Armenians and Jews. The whole commerce of the place consists in the exportation of corn, wine, fish, and wool to Constantinople. It has little of the appearance of a very ancient town: it is without walls, and we found no antiquities upon the spot. Benjamin of Tudela describes Rodosto as a Jewish university, distant two days' journey from Pera."

The road now leaves the shore, which bends to the southward. In four hours, the traveller reaches the village of *Yenijik*, and in three more, *Develi*. The roads are deep and slippery, and the country undulating, waste, and dreary. A succession of bleak and solitary plains, separated by ridges of hills, occupies the next day's journey of nine hours, to Kishan. This part of Thrace reminded Dr. Clarke of the steppes in the South of Russia; and a more dreary prospect, he says, can hardly be conceived, than that which is afforded by a lofty mound erected upon the brow of a ridge of hills, looking down on Develi. Within an hour of Kishan is a village called *Bulgarkieu* (Bulgarian town). Kishan is a large town, situated at the eastern extremity of the plain of the Hebrus, upon the side of a mountain towards the termination of the range of Rhodope, distant eight hours from Fairy, twelve from Eno, and twelve from Gallipoli.* It contains 1500 houses, 400 of which belonged to Greeks. Its trade consists in supplying the inland districts, by means of caravans, with cotton,

* Distances in this part of Thrace are reckoned by the time in which waggons are drawn by buffaloes; not three miles an hours. The Tatar couriers perform the distance in half, and sometimes less than half the computed time.

Digitized by Google

corn, and tobacco. It is described as being "in a better condition than the other towns in Thrace."

The route now lies in a south-westerly direction over a wretched country, to the Greek village of Achooreia, and thence, still over the dreary and, in some parts, swampy plain of the Hebrus, to the ferry over that river. Dr. Clarke found it to be "much swoln, broad, and muddy;" but, although at this season (Jan.), the mouths of the Danube are sometimes frozen, there was neither the appearance of ice, nor any thing in the temperature of the water corresponding to the descriptions of the Hebrus given by the Romans as the

——"freezing Hebrus bound in snowy chains."*

The banks of the Maritza are covered with tamarisks. "Nothing, however," says Mr. Walpole, "can be more uninteresting than the wide, open plain through which this river runs. The general appearance of the country is not relieved by many marks of civilisation or of culture. The eye, as it wanders over the bleak, inhospitable Thracian plains, is arrested only by some of those artificial mounds of earth, marking either the site of some battle, or the spot where the bodies of the slain were heaped and entombed together; or, in later times, the place where the standards of the Mussulman invaders of Greece were fixed, when the army was encamped. When or whence the Hebrus took the name of Maritza, it is not easy to determine; but I find it in the history of Georgius Acropolita, who lived in the year 1222." According to Plutarch, it once bore the name of Rhombus, and he speaks of a herb resembling *origanum* as growing upon its banks.

* "*Hebrumque nivali compede vinctus.*"—HORACE, *Ep. ad Florum.* See also Carm. lib. i. od. 25.

Digitized by Google

Pliny mentions it as one of five auriferous rivers;* and a French traveller (Belon) in the sixteenth century, states, that the inhabitants annually collected and washed the sands for the gold they contained, though he represents them as not finding enough to pay them for their trouble.

The traveller now enters upon the ancient territory of the *Cicones*, and in three-quarters of an hour from the ferry, arrives at the town of Fairy,† distant eight hours from Kishan. This place exhibited, at the time, one wide heap of smoking ruins, having been recently sacked and burned by banditti. It is situated upon the eastern side of the mountain *Serrium*, a branch of Rhodope. The inhabitants had fled to the neighbouring town of Morogna (the ancient Ismarus or Maronea), distant eight hours, on the coast, which occurs in the ordinary route to Salonika. Dr. Clarke saved three hours by taking the more direct route over the mountain, following the old Roman military way. A *derveni*, five hours from Fairy, marks the boundary between that district and the territory of *Gymmergina* (*Commerchini*).‡ Four hours further, is a village called *Kalliage-derai*, "situated exactly mid-way between Thessalonica and Constantinople." The road

* The others are, the Tagus, the Po, the Pactolus, and the Ganges.

† What Dr. Clarke's fancy was in writing the name of this town *Fairy*, and that of Morogna, *Mary*, it is hard to say. In the maps, it is written *Feres*. Higher up the river stood the city of Trajanopolis, and above this, at the mouth of the Zerna, is the town of Zernitz. At the mouth of the Maritza, on the western side, is the site of the Thracian Ænos (Ygnos, Inos), or Apsynthus, the large silver medals of which are described by Dr. Clarke as the boldest specimens of the very ancient coinage of Greece. Marogna or Marolia is the next port to the west.

‡ Written Camalza, Cumulza, Gumalza, Gumalsina, Commercine, Comerchini, Gymmergine.

Digitized by Google

then descends to the village of *Tchafts-tcheyr*, situated at the eastern extremity of the great plain of *Tchouadjlarkir*; and at the end of five hours more, over a dreary maritime tract, crossing several ancient bridges, leads to *Gymmergine*. This is a town of 1,000 houses, carrying on an inland commerce in corn, cotton, tobacco, and wool. About 400 of the houses belonged to Greeks, 60 to Jews, 15 to Armenians, and the rest to Turks. The high and bare mountains which border this plain, extending east and west, evidently form a part of the great chain of Rhodope: they now bear the name of *Karowlan*. Many towns and villages lie out of the road upon the southern side of the long Rhodopean chain. The most accurate description of this part of Thrace, Dr. Clarke says, is still to be found in the pages of Herodotus.

On leaving *Gymmergine*, the road, in about an hour and a quarter, passes a river called *Ak-su* (white water), and in another quarter of an hour, a ruined town called *Myoena-kalis*; the walls, which are very thick, have been constructed of large pebbles imbedded in mortar. In another hour, the traveller crosses the *Kuru-tchi*, a torrent which is considerable only during heavy floods. A number of cemeteries, situated in desert places over which the road passes, containing, severally, between three and four hundred graves, form the melancholy memorials of towns or villages of which no other trace remains. Beyond this last-mentioned river, the sea forms a wide salt-water lake, the ancient *Palus Bistonis*, now called the lake of *Bouron*. * At its northern extremity, the road passes

* The fishery of this lake is stated by Belon to be a source of considerable profit to the inhabitants. It abounds with a small fish called by the Greeks of Bouron, *illinge*, and at Constantinople *kavrini*.

Digitized by Google

near a spacious and picturesque ruin, apparently of a castle or monastery, now called *Boâr-kalis*, which the learned Traveller supposes may occupy the site of the ancient Bistonia, an episcopal see within the province of Trajanopolis. "A paved causeway led through the fen to and from this building. Almost the whole of the walls, and many of the mural towers, were yet standing. It had once been fortified. Within this structure we found the remains of a church and of a chapel, evidently formed out of a more ancient edifice; the interior exhibiting arches that had been walled up, and walls plastered over and painted by some of the early Christians. We found fragments of Grecian sculpture; among others, the bust of a female statue covered with drapery, and finely executed in white marble. The remains of portals were visible, with three gates in each place of entrance. Upon the western side, we observed among the foundations, large blocks of marble placed securely together without any cement. In the walls of the church were some large slabs of Thasian marble finely grooved."

The lake was covered with various kinds of water-fowls and the whole plain is flat and swampy. In two hours from its border, is the Turkish village of Yeniga, containing about 200 houses. Beyond this, the road crosses, at a ferry, the rapid torrent of the *Kara-su* (black-water), the ancient Nessus, at the mouth of which, on the eastern side, stood the ancient Abdera, the birth-place of Democritus, "the fair colony of the Teii, and the most powerful city of all Thrace." Two hours and a half further, a Turkish *tchiflik*, called *Charpantu*, is seen upon the side of a hill, and above it is a ruined fortress. The road now leaves the dreary plain, and ascends, by a paved road, to a pass which has once been closed by a gateway. After

Digitized by Google

skirting a bay of which this hill forms the eastern point, it then leads over a part of Mount Pangæus, still called Pangea, commanding a fine view of the bay of Neapolis. The summit is covered with ruined walls, and an ancient aqueduct crosses the road, composed of two tiers of arches, which having been repaired by a certain Ibrahim Pasha in the sixteenth century, still conducts water to the city below. Two precipices of this mountain approach so near the sea, as to leave only narrow defiles on the beach, which have once been closed by walls. Opposite to the most easterly of these points (called the *Castagnas*) lies the isle of Thasus, famous for its quarries of white marble, resembling the Parian.

Cavallo, the ancient Neapolis, contains 500 houses, belonging chiefly to Turks. The greater part of the town is within the walls of the citadel. The promontory upon which it is built, stretches into the sea so as to form a port on each side of it; hence the advantageous situation of the city as an emporium. The western port is reported to be safe even for large vessels. The commerce of the place is confined to the exportation of tobacco and cotton. Neapolis was the port at which St. Paul landed in his first voyage from Asia Minor to Macedonia.* The ruins of the ancient Philippi are only ten miles distant, situated upon the side of a hill. Dr. Clarke was unable to visit this most interesting site,—interesting both to the classic scholar, as the adjacent plains were the scene of the memorable battle between Brutus and Cassius and Mark Anthony, and still more so as the first European

* "Therefore loosing from Troas, we came with a straight course to Samothracia, and the next day to Neapolis; and from thence to Philippi, which is the chief city of that part of Macedonia and a (Roman) colony."—Acts xvi. 11, 12.

Digitized by Google

city in which the Gospel was preached and a Christian church planted (about A.D. 53), the scene of St. Paul's memorable imprisonment with his companion Silas, and for the inhabitants of which he appears to have entertained a peculiar regard.* An imperfect description of the place is furnished by M. Belon, who spent two days in examining its ruins, in the sixteenth century. He found there the remains of a magnificent amphitheatre, and a number of *soroi*, of the marble of the place, of such magnitude that nothing could be compared to them. He mentions also four enormous columns, the remains of the temple of Claudius, an infinite number of statues and large marble columns of the Doric and Ionic orders, beautifully sculptured, and numerous inscriptions. In short, the ruins of no other city, in his opinion, were adapted to excite so much admiration.† If this description may be at all depended upon, few ancient sites would seem to be more deserving of investigation.

The modern representative of Philippi appears to be the town of Drama, described by Ville Hardouin as being situated in the valley of Philippi.‡ This is a town of sufficient importance to be the seat of a pasha of two tails, and has manufactories of calico and tobacco. It is about fifteen miles N.E. of Emboli (Amphipoli.). Near it are ruins of an ancient town, supposed by Col. Leake to be those of Drabescus; but

* See Acts xvi. and xvii. Philippians i. 3; ii. 12; iv. 15.

† See Clarke's Travels, vol. viii. p. 44. The learned Author also refers to a more recent and curious description of the ruins in the *Lettres Edifiantes, tome* ii. p. 377. A fair is said to be still annually held among the ruins. From the number of its fountains, it was anciently called *Crenides*.

‡ Pococke speaks of an ex-archbishop of *Philippi and Drama*, whom he met with.

Digitized by Google

that city is placed by Dr. Clarke at Pravista,* distant three hours S.W. of Cavallo, and six hours and a half N.E. of Orphano.† This is a town of 800 houses, containing a mixed population, chiefly Greek; extremely dirty and wretched. It is situated in a defile leading into the great plain of Serres (or Seres), which is seen from an eminence over which the road passes. Dr. Clarke describes it as "a noble plain, flat as the surface of a lake," and in its geological character strikingly resembling the plains of the great limestone formation of Greece. Its proverbial fertility is owing chiefly to the annual inundations of the Strymon.‡ Except towards the South, where this river has its outlet to fall into the head of the Gulf of Contessa, the plain of Seres is surrounded by lofty mountains, having the highest ridges of Pangæus towards the east, Mount Scomius towards the north, and Mount Cercina towards the west. It is said to contain "nearly 300 villages, so closely placed together that,

* Pravista, written Πραβιστα, "may be nothing more," he remarks, "than a corruption of the ancient Drabiscus of Strabo, to whose situation it remarkably corresponds."

† In an extract from Mr. Walpole's Journal, given by Dr. Clarke in a note, Pravasta is stated to be only *five hours* from the mouth of the Strymon. "This place," it is added, "is situated between two plains, and is distant from the sea three hours. There are here many iron works; and the fortresses at the Dardanelles are supplied from this place with balls for the cannon. The mountains containing the iron ore, run in a direction from Orfano near the Strymon, to Pravasta. At three hours' distance is Cavalla, situated on a piece of land projecting into the sea, opposite to Thassus, and united by a low isthmus to the continent of Macedonia."—CLARKE'S *Travels*, vol. viii. p. 7. This Traveller, following Belon, supposes Cavalla to be a corruption of *Bucephala*; but Dr. Clarke doubts the existence of a city of that name on this part of the coast.

‡ The Strymon (Strumona or Yemboli river) has its rise at the foot of Mount Scomius, and, after a course of twenty leagues, falls into the Gulf of Amphipolis (or Contessa).—*Beaufour.*

Digitized by Google

when viewed from the summit of Mount Cercina, they seem to join, and present the imposing appearance of an immense city. These villages are distributed by groupes of thirty or forty into agaliks, the most considerable of which are those of Drama, of Zigna, and of Seres. The aga of Seres maintains in his service 5000 men, and is reckoned the most powerful bey in Macedonia."* The whole of this valley is laid out in cotton plantations, which, as being the most profitable species of cultivation, have greatly increased of late years in Macedonia, and occupy the best lands in the district.† The annual produce of the valley of Seres is estimated by Beaujour at 70,000 bales.

Seres (*Sirræ*),‡ which gives its name to the plain, is a considerable town, tolerably well built, and with a population estimated at 30,000 souls. It is the residence of a Greek archbishop, and is noted for its linen and cotton stuffs. Its market, M. Beaujour says, is the richest in all European Turkey. When Dr. Hol-

* Beaujour. *Tableau du Commerce de la Grèce.* i. 55. "These agas," he adds, "live in their towers (*donjons*) always surrounded with a guard of Albanians; and they make war on each other, like our ancient feudal chieftains. The victor burns the plantations of the vanquished, carries off his women and his cattle, and only ceases his ravages at certain Mohammedan festivals, when hostilities are suspended by a sort of *trève de Dieu*. The Porte secretly foments these divisions of agas, and, when obliged to interfere, sends the bow-string to the weakest party and the tails to the strongest."

† "An *arpent* (100 square perches) of good land produces annually from 2 to 300 okes of cotton, which, at a piaster the oke, yields a revenue of between 2 and 300 piasters. The best corn land yields only from 25 to 30 quintals of wheat, worth from 100 to 150 piasters."—Beaujour, i. 63.

‡ Belon mentions a town of Ceres, which was the *Cranon* of the ancients; but that town is stated to have been in Thessaly. Dr. Clarke would derive the name from Σηρες, the silk-worm. Dr. Holland supposes Seres to be the ancient *Sintice*.

Digitized by Google

land visited Salonica (in 1813), Ismael Bey, of Seres, the father of Yusuf Pasha of Salonica, had long possessed authority over the great plains of this country. "His present jurisdiction," says Dr. H., "is said to extend over a district stretching five days' journey to the north of Salonica. This, according to the common estimation, gives a distance of 100 or 120 miles, but with a very small breadth. The city of Seres, the seat of his government, contains between 5 and 6000 houses and many wealthy inhabitants. Ishmael, now an old man, is a native of this country. His power, which has progressively increased during the last forty years, is maintained by a considerable military force; partly also, it would seem, by the attachment of his population; and still more, perhaps, by the wealth he has derived from the revenues of a fertile country and a flourishing sea-port. His jurisdiction is uncontrolled by that of the neighbouring pashas, and derives authority from the recognition of the Porte, with which he is said to maintain a good understanding."* Seres is forty-five miles N.E. of Salonica, which it supplies with its principal exports. The tobacco of the districts of Cavallo and Yenige is not less esteemed than the cotton of Seres. That of *Yenidge-Kara-su*, in particular, is preferred even to that of Latakia, having the same softness and perfume, with more sap and fragrance: it is almost all sent to Constantinople, where it is destined for the use of the Seraglio and of the grandees.

* Holland's Travels, vol. ii. p. 69. It would seem that this same Yusuf had succeeded his father in his little principality at the commencement of the Greek Revolution, as we find a Yusuf Pasha, of Seres, commanding a division of the Turkish army which marched on Livadia in 1823. Mahmoud Pasha, of Drama, was at the head of the army which entered the Morea the preceding year. See MOD. TRAV., *Greece*, vol. i. pp. 179—190.

Digitized by Google

An ancient paved road, about four feet wide, leads down from the heights above Pravista, to a groupe of six or seven fountains shaded by venerable plane-trees, near the entrance of the fertile plain of Mestania. Beyond them is a khan called Kunarga, near which are fragments of ancient columns; and Dr. Clarke observed several columns in some Turkish cemeteries near the road, indicating the neighbourhood of some ancient site. The plain is bounded, north and south, by two chains of mountains. "We saw," says the learned Traveller, "some neat plantations of tobacco and corn: the wheat looked uncommonly well. Upon the northern side of our route were many Turkish villages upon the mountains, situate towards their base, and distinguished as Turkish by their mosques and minarets rising amid groves of cypress and poplar." At the end of four hours from the khan (crossing the plain in a direction W.S.W.), is Orphano, a Turkish village of about fifty houses, nearly a mile from the sea, on a small river which here falls into the Gulf. There is a small fortress upon the side of the hill, above the village, with about twenty other dwellings. The road lies over this hill,* and then descends to the ruins of the ancient Amphipolis, now called *Palaio Orphano* and *Eski Kaleh* (the old fortress). They consist chiefly of walls, with more of Roman than of Greek masonry, composed of round stones and tiles cemented together. There is also part of an aqueduct, and upon the hills to the east, are seen foundations of an acropolis.

About a mile S.W. of the ruins, is a small port where vessels still come to take in corn and other pro-

* Probably, a promontory. We find, in an old map, the eastern point of the Gulf of Contessa, called Cape *Rofani*, evidently the same as Orfano.

Digitized by Google

duce. The Strymon, which encircled the ancient Amphipolis, here falls into the sea. The Turks give to this place, as well as to the river, the name of Emboli or Yemboli; a corruption, apparently, of Amphipoli. The shore is flat and sandy, full of stagnant pools, and the insalubrity of the air has probably occasioned the relinquishment of the ancient site.* The river is crossed at a ferry near a large *khan;* and the road then lies under the cliffs, close to the sea, rounding a point of land, to another *khan*, near a *derveni*, or custom-house. Two hours further, proceeding through a maritime plain, covered with the plane and various species of oak, is another *derveni* and *khan*, called *Khan Erenderi Baus*, placed at the commencement of a narrow defile, between lofty rocks of clay slate, covered with forests of oak and plane.† A river flows through

* Amphipolis was an Athenian colony; it was previously called Acra, and its other names were Myrica, Crademna, and Anadremus. On being rebuilt in the time of the lower empire, it took the name of Chrysopolis, and is said to have been known by that name so late as the sixteenth century. "It was also called Eion, out of which," adds the learned Traveller, "the Greeks made Iampolis, and the Turks Iamboli or Emboli." Whether all these names belonged to the same city, may be questioned. Contessa, which gives its modern name to the Gulf, and which is situated on a small island near one of the mouths of the Strymon, was doubtless the site of an ancient port.

† "This defile," says Dr. Clarke, "seems to offer a natural boundary between Macedonia and Thrace; and the appearance of the *dervens* induced us to suppose that it was now considered as a frontier pass; but, upon inquiry, they told us, that the Strymon, four hours further eastward, is considered as the boundary; which, in fact, was the ancient limit between the two countries." This latter assertion, however, requires to be qualified; and it is strange that the learned author should have cited no ancient authorities to substantiate it. It was certainly not the boundary of the Roman province, since Philippi is far to the eastward of any part of this stream; and Neapolis, eight miles eastward of its mouth, is also in Macedonia. Pococke is strangely incorrect when he says, that

Digitized by Google

the defile, and on the left hand, above the precipices, is a ruined monastery. On issuing from this pass, the road lies along a valley, having the mountains on the right, and on the left, two beautiful lakes, the scenery of which, Dr. Clarke says, has something of the fine character of that of Switzerland. Of these lakes, the most easterly, now called Lake *Beshek*, is between twelve and fifteen miles in length, by five or six in breadth; the other appeared to be about twelve miles in circumference. Many kinds of fish are caught in them, in sufficient abundance to supply Salonika and all the neighbouring villages. Dr. Clarke supposes that of Beshek to be the Bolbæan Lake, described by the ancient geographers as lying between Arethusa and Apollonia;* but this conjecture is not supported by any clear evidence, and D'Anville places it much nearer the *Sinus Strymonicus*, or Bay of Emboli. The village of *Miora Beshek* (Little Beshek) stands upon a promontory stretching into the lake. *Trana Beshek* (Great Beshek) is about a mile and a half further, and within two miles of Clissele (or Klissala). The mountains here are of granite, containing masses of diallage porphyry, the *bianco-e-nero* of Italian lapidaries. They are covered to their summits with olive-trees,

"the river Strymon bounds Macedonia *on the north*;" but he adds: "To the north-east of the Strymon was the country called *Macedonia Adjecta*, inhabited by the Edones: it extended to the Nestus, and was a part of Thrace conquered by King Philip, and added to Macedonia." It was of *this* district that Philippi was the capital; and the sacred historian evidently alludes to the distinction, when he describes Philippi as "the chief city of *that part* of Macedonia;" that is between the Strymon and the Nestus or Kara-su.

* In the valley of Arethusa, near Bromiscus, in Macedonia, at the confluence of two streams, (one of which was poisonous and the other salutary,) stood the tomb of Euripides. This site is well deserving of investigation.

Digitized by Google

and the Vallonia oak and plane-tree add to the beauty of the scene. Near Clissele, some remarkable porphyritic rocks rise perpendicularly out of the plain, having, at a distance, the appearance of a castellated building or a cromlech.* Clissele is a poor village, distant seven hours from Salonica, situated on some hills which divide the plain of *Scrainashtchi* or *Gulyashtchi* from those of *Baleftchino* and *Lagadno*. These are fertile and well-cultivated tracts, but marshy, and the air is very bad. The lake of St. Basil is seen on the left of the road, which runs N.W., and after passing over the plains, enters a defile leading out into the plain of Salonica.

SALONICA (THESSALONICA).

For the fullest and most recent description of this city, we are indebted to Dr. Holland, who visited it in the year 1812. He arrived by sea; and, as approached from the gulf, its appearance is very imposing, being seen from a great distance, placed on the acclivity of a steep hill, environed with lofty stone walls,† which ascend in a triangular form from the sea, and surmounted by a fortress with seven towers. The domes and minarets of numerous mosques rise from among the other buildings, and surrounded with cypresses, give a general air of splendour to the place, which, as usual, is in striking contrast to the aspect of the interior. The port, crowded with shipping, which

* "Mount Athos is known to be composed of primitive rocks; marble, a compound of hornblende and felspar, &c. The hill on which Salonica is built, appears to be entirely composed of mica-slate."—Holland's *Travels*, vol. ii. p. 52.

† Dr. Clarke says they are "white-washed, and, what is still more extraordinary, they are also painted."

Digitized by Google

affords proof of its flourishing commerce, adds not a little to the beauty of the spectacle.

"The most ancient name of this celebrated city was Therma, derived, in common with that of the Gulf, from the hot springs which still exist in several places upon the coast. The Macedonian Cassander, who enlarged and embellished the city, so as to merit the title of its founder, gave it the name of Thessalonica, in compliment to his wife, the daughter of Philip of Macedon. Cicero resided here some time during his banishment from Rome; and many of his letters to Atticus, who was then at his estate in Epirus, are dated from Thessalonica. At the period when the Apostle Paul visited the place, it appears to have been large, populous, and wealthy; and the Byzantine historians speak much of its splendour and importance.* The massacre of 15,000 of its inhabitants, from the sudden fury of Theodosius, is well known to history; as well as the severe expiation required of that monarch by the intrepid Ambrose. In the decline of the Greek empire, the city was taken by William of Sicily, and at a still later period, was made over by one of the Palæologi to the Venetians. The latter, however, enjoyed their possession but a few years, Thessalonica falling into the power of the Turks in 1431, to whose empire it has ever since been subject.

"In its present state, Salonica is exceeded in population only by Constantinople, and possibly by Adrianople, among the cities of European Turkey; and in the extent of its commerce, is probably second to the

* "See the description of Thessalonica by Ioannes Cameniates, in his narrative of the capture of the city by the Barbarians (*during the time of Leo?*). Also the exclamatory eulogy of Demetrius Cydonius in describing the same event. Tzetzes, in his Chiliads, speaks of Thessalonica as πολις λαμπροτατη."

Digitized by Google

capital alone. The circumference of the city, as determined by the walls, probably exceeds five miles. This included area has the form of an irregular triangle; the sea-wall being the base, and the apex of the triangle being formed by the castle, which surmounts and commands the town. Nearly the whole of this area is occupied by buildings, only a small interval of rocky ground being left between the city and the fortress. The interior of Salonica presents the same irregularity, and many of the same deformities, which are common in Turkish towns. The rapid ascent of the hill diminishes this evil in the upper part of the town; and on the whole, as respects cleanliness and internal comfort, Salonica may contrast favourably with most other places in Turkey of large size and population. It certainly gains greatly in the comparison, if activity of business be admitted as a criterion of superiority. Except in those quarters where the principal Turks reside, there is a general appearance of life and movement, which forms a striking contrast to the monotony of a Turkish town. The quays are covered with goods; numerous groupes of people are occupied about the ships or the warehouses; and the bazars are well stocked and perpetually crowded with buyers and sellers. They are in fact chiefly Greeks or Jews who are thus occupied; people ever ready to seize any opening which may be offered to commercial industry, and ever ingenious in meeting and frustrating the political oppressions under which they labour. At the time when we visited Salonica, the great and sudden influx of trade to that port had afforded an opening of the most favourable kind; and the character of Yusuf Bey's government was such as not in any material degree to check the progress of industry.

Digitized by Google

"The style of building in Salonica is entirely Turkish; and as in Ioannina, the houses of the principal inhabitants, Greeks as well as Turks, have small areas connected with them, generally occupied by a few trees. The foliage intermixed with the buildings, however, forms a much less striking object here than in Ioannina; and the general appearance of the city is that of greater compactness and uniformity. The bazars, which are situated in the lower part of the town, are very extensive, forming several long but narrow streets. As is common in this country, they are shaded either by trellises with vines, or by projecting wooden sheds, with branches of trees thrown across. The dealers, as I have already stated, are principally Greeks and Jews, with a large proportion of the latter nation. The shops are well filled with manufactured goods and colonial produce; but, in jewellery, shawls, and the richer articles of Oriental dress, they appear to be somewhat inferior to those of Ioannina.

"Some of the mosques are worthy of notice from their size and antiquity: we visited the two most considerable, formerly the Greek churches of Santa Sophia and St. Demetrius, but now converted to the purposes of the Mohammedan worship. The Santa Sophia was erected by the command of Justinian: the model of the edifice, though on a much larger scale, being the celebrated church of that name at Constantinople, and Arthemias the architect of both. There is something venerable and imposing in the approach to this building. It stands in the midst of an area shaded by cypresses and other ancient trees; a large marble fountain is opposite to the great door of the church; and detached portions of the original edifice, now partly in a ruinous state, are seen at intervals

Digitized by Google

through the trees. The interior, in its present state, exhibits but few of those decorations which gave splendour to the edifice in its original character of a Greek church. A sort of stone rostrum, however, is shewn here, reputed by the Christians of the city to be that from which St. Paul preached to the Thessalonians. I am not aware on what this tradition is founded.

"The mosque, once the Greek church of St. Demetrius, is of large size, and remarkable for the number and beauty of the ancient columns which support and adorn it. The loftiness of the building has admitted two heights of gallery; each, as well as the roof, supported by a tier of columns passing round the church. The total number is said to be three hundred and sixty. Some of these columns are of marble, some of verde-antique, others of sienite and porphyry. We visited the stone sepulchre of St. Demetrius in a cell adjoining the church, where a lamp is kept always burning; chiefly, as it seems, to enable the Turk who shews the place, to require a few coins from the visiter of the tomb. St. Demetrius was the patron saint of the city; famed for his martyrdom, and for various miracles which are recorded in the Byzantine history. A subterranean church is connected with the mosque; erected, it is said, on the site of the Jewish synagogue, where St. Paul preached to the people of Thessalonica."

Another remarkable edifice, called the Rotunda, which, after having successively served as a heathen temple * and a Christian church, has been converted into a mosque, is described in his own clumsy

* Beaujour asserts, that he was able to "prove by medals, that this temple is that of the *Cabiri*, and that it was constructed in the time of Trajan. It is evident from its form, that it was built on the model of the Pantheon at Rome."

Digitized by Google

manner by Pococke. "The walls are very thick, and built of good brick: the chapels round it are arched over with double arches of brick, excepting the two entrances to the west and south. In them are oblong square niches which appear like windows, and are now filled up: above these, the wall is not, I suppose, so thick by twelve feet; and over every one of these apartments there is an arched niche. The cupola is adorned with mosaic work appearing like eight frontispieces of very grand buildings, the perspective of which seemed to be very good. The apartment opposite the entrance is lengthened out to twenty-seven paces, and ends in a semicircle, which, if it was a temple, must have been added by the Christians for the altars." In the beautiful dome, there is a circular aperture, as in that of the Pantheon, designed, Beaujour contends, to let the smoke of the victims escape, which were consumed on the altar immediately beneath; and under the place where it stood, may yet be seen, he says, the vast stone reservoirs which received the blood. In front of the building, Dr. Clarke "saw a magnificent marble *bema* or pulpit ornamented in *bas-relief*;" * and, at a fountain, "part of an inscription, mentioning the name either of Cassander or of some citizen of Cassandria upon the Isthmus of Pallene."

There is a fourth mosque, Pococke says, "which was the church of St. Pantaleemon." Beaujour men-

* Pococke seems to refer to this same rostrum or pulpit as placed before the "fourth mosque," which "was the church of St. Pantaleemon." He describes it as "a sort of pulpit, with winding steps up to it, all of one block of white marble: on the sides of it are cut three arches, supported by Corinthian pillars, under which are *mezzo-relievos* of the Virgin Mary and other saints. I saw such another (he adds) at one of the mosques. These seem to have been made in the very earliest times of Christianity, before the art of sculpture was entirely lost."

Digitized by Google

tions a fourth, called by the Turks *Eski Djumma* (Old Friday), which was once a temple dedicated to the Thermean Venus, to whom Friday (*Dies Veneris*) was sacred. "The Greeks," he adds, "spoiled it by attempting to make it cruciform. It was originally a perfect parallelogram, 70 feet by 35, supported by twelve columns of the Ionic order of the most elegant form. The six columns of the *Pronaos* still remain, although concealed by the walls of the mosque. If the country were in the possession of a civilized people, it would be easy to strip the temple of Venus of the Gothic masonry which disguises it; and this edifice would then, next to the Theseum at Athens, be of all the chaste monuments of antiquity, the one in the most perfect preservation. Now, it can only be seen through its plaster covering; and I passed three years at Salonica without suspecting its real character."

There are few remains here, belonging to a more remote antiquity. "A triumphal gate," says Dr. Holland, "erected after the battle of Philippi, in honour of Augustus, has lost its former splendour by being made a part of the modern walls of the city. A work of greater magnificence is a triumphal arch of Roman brick, cased with marble, which traverses one of the principal streets. This is said to have been erected in honour of the first Constantine. Originally, there was a small arch on each side; but these are now blocked up; and in other respects, the work is much defaced by time. Some fine bas-relief groupes still, however, remain on the piers of the arch; one representing a triumphal procession; a lower compartment describing the events of a battle,—the sculpture not without a good deal of spirit."

The Augustan gate, which is at the western

Digitized by Google

extremity of the city, is now called the Vardar gate, as leading to that river. Dr. Clarke says, that, although less noticed than the other, it is a work far superior in point of taste. Its present height is 18 feet, the lower part being buried to the depth of 27 feet more. The span of the arch is 12 feet. The masonry consists of square blocks of white marble six feet thick; and upon one side is an inscription containing the names of all the magistrates then in office. A bas-relief on each side represents the two conquerors, Octavius and Mark Anthony, each standing before a horse led by a boy. The arch of Constantine is on the western side of the town, and originally terminated a street that ran from the Vardar Gate through the whole city. It yet remains entire, except that its marble covering has been in great measure removed. Its original height was 60 feet, but not much more than 40 feet are now above the soil. The span of the main arch is about 30 feet. It consisted originally of three arches built of brick, and cased with marble, and there were niches in front between the arches, which of course were filled with statues. The piers all round were adorned with three compartments of *basso relievos* one above another, each relief being four feet two inches deep, divided by others that were twelve inches deep, covered with foliage and flowers. Pococke believed the arch to be of the age of the Antonines, and he represents it as rivalling any similar structure in the perfection of the sculpture and the costliness of the work. Beaujour depreciates the execution, describing the figures with which the bas-relief is overloaded, as without expression, and the ornaments as in bad taste. Dr. Clarke was convinced that the work is not older than the time of Constantine, the sculpture being "evidently that of a period when

Digitized by Google

the arts were in their decline, and, in some parts of it, inferior to what we often see in our country churches."

"In the middle of the city," continues Dr. Holland, "a singular ruined structure is seen, forming, in its present state, the entrance to the area of a Greek house;—a Corinthian colonnade, of which four columns now remain, supporting an entablature, on which are corresponding pilasters, six feet in height. On each side of this upper colonnade are four figures in full length, now so far defaced by time, that it is not easy to make out all their characters. It seems probable, however, that three of those on one side represent Victory, Bacchus, and Ganymede; while on the other are the figures of Leda and Ariadne, a male figure, and that of a female in profile. This edifice is supposed to have been the entrance of the ancient circus of Thessalonica; and if so, the scene of the dreadful massacre directed by Theodosius. It is stated, though I know not on what authority, to have been built in the time of Nero. It does not appear that the columns ever exceeded five in number."

This building is called by the Spanish Jews of Salonica, the *Incantadas*, or Enchanted Figures, and by the Turks, *Sureth-maleh*. The figures are as large as life, and parts of the sculpture are very fine; but M. Beaujour, Dr. Holland says, "is far too luxuriant" in his description of them.* The whole is executed in Pentelican marble, and, Dr. Clarke supposes, was probably brought from Athens.

The walls of the castle are lofty and well-built.†

* See an accurate representation of this supposed *propylæum* in Stuart's Athens, vol. iii. c. 9.

† "The walls, flanked with turrets, and raised upon hewn stones of enormous size, are of brick-work and of Greek construc-

Digitized by Google

The castle forms a large distinct area, separated from the city by a transverse wall, the greater part of which enclosure is either vacant or occupied with irregular buildings. At its highest point stands the fortress, surmounted by seven towers, like that of Constantinople, and called by the Turks in like manner *Yedi-koule*, and by the Greeks Ἑπτάπυργιον. It is the site of the old acropolis, but its towers are said to have been built by the Venetians. Towards the west, opposite to a small monastery of dervishes, is a tower called *Namasia-koule*, from a colossal *torso* of a female statue, supposed to be that of Thessalonica, in honour of whom the city received its name. At the feet of the figure is represented the stern of a ship. The hill on which the citadel is built, is joined, on the north-east, by lower ground, to Mount Kourtiach; and the castle, being commanded by all the heights on the north, has become useless, since the invention of artillery, for the defence of the place. The view from the castle, Dr. Holland describes as extensive and magnificent. "The city and its numerous minarets are immediately below the eye; beyond these, the expanse of the gulf, and the vast barrier of the Olympus chain towards the west; and in a northerly direction, the widely spreading plains of Macedonia, and the rivers which pursue a tortuous course through them towards the sea. Pella, the ancient capital of the Macedonian kings, stood upon these plains; and its situation, even from this distance, is marked with some certainty, as well by the course of the rivers, as

tion, and they present in every part, fragments of columns confusedly mixed with ancient fragments."—Beaujour. Dr. Clarke speaks of "old Cyclopean masonry" in the lower part, ascribing the upper structure to the time of the Greek emperors.

Digitized by Google

by the eminence on which stood the fortress of the city, described by Livy to be like an island rising out of the surrounding marshes. Towards the north of this tract of level country, a lofty range of mountains occupies part of the horizon; the modern name of which is said to be Xerolivado. In the same direction from Salonica is the large and populous city of Seres, the residence of Ishmael Bey, and the seat of his local government.

"The view from the castle of Salonica, towards the peninsula of the ancient Pallene, is limited by the mountain called Chortchadje, a few miles to the south-east of the city; on the sides of which hill, ice is preserved in wells during the whole year for the use of the inhabitants of Salonica. This mountain is probably the ancient Birmium, at the foot of which stood the city of Berrœa. Edessa was situated beyond Pella in the same district."

The population of the city has been estimated as high as 90,000 souls, but Dr. Holland considers this as an exaggerated estimate, although he thinks it exceeds 70,000. "It is certain, however," he adds, "that the number of inhabitants has been much increased within the last few years, owing in part to the extended commerce of the place, partly to the settlement of numerous emigrants who have fled hither to shun the power or the vengeance of Ali Pasha of Ioannina. The Turks probably form somewhat less than half the population." Beaujour states, that Salonica could furnish 7000 Janissaries, which would give a population of from 28 to 30,000 Turks. Though thus intermixed with other communities, they preserve, we are told, all their peculiar natural habits, with "a greater facility of exercising them than is pos-

Digitized by Google

sessed by their countrymen of Ioannina." In walking through their quarter of the city, Dr. Holland was repeatedly insulted by the Turkish boys.*

"The number of Greek families is said to be about 2000. The greater part of this population is engaged in commerce; and many of the Greek merchants resident here, have acquired considerable property from this source. The trade they carry on, is in some measure subordinate to that of the Frank merchants of Salonica; but they have likewise extensive independent connexions with Germany, Constantinople, Smyrna, Malta, and various parts of Greece. They do not possess so much reputation in literature as their countrymen of Ioannina, owing, perhaps, to the difference which their situation produces in the nature of their commercial concerns. I have visited, however, the houses of some of the Salonica merchants, in which there were large collections of books, including as well the Romaic literature as that of other parts of Europe. Salonica is one of the Greek metropolitan sees, to which eight suffragan bishoprics are annexed. The Greeks have a number of churches in the city, the principal of which is called the Rotundo, rendered remarkable by the domes which rise from its roof, giving an air of splendour to its external appearance.

* When Dr. Clarke was at Salonica in 1801, Mr. Charnaud, the English consul, estimated the population at only 53,000, of whom 15,000 were supposed to be Jews, 9000 Greeks, and the rest Turks. Beaujour states it at 60,000, including about 16,000 Greeks, 12,000 Jews, 30,000 Turks, and 2000 Franks, *Tchingenais* (gipsies), blacks, and *Mamins*, "a race half Turks half Jews." The Jews appear to have been relatively more numerous in Pococke's time. He says, that their number was supposed to exceed the number of Christians and Turks put together, and that they had great influence.

Digitized by Google

"The Jews form a large portion of the population of the city, and the number of houses occupied by this people is estimated at between three and four thousand. The community is of Spanish descent, and settled here under certain conditions of protection and privilege, which appear to have been faithfully executed on the part of the Turks. The Jews of higher class obtain a livelihood chiefly as brokers, or retail-dealers in the bazars: the greater number are employed as porters on the quays, and in other similar offices. They exhibit the same active diligence here as elsewhere; but the repute of fraudulent habits goes along with that of industry; and the Jews of Salonica are characterised in a saying of the country, as a people whom it is the business of every stranger to avoid.* The Frank population of Salonica is confined to the lower quarter of the city, but has latterly been much extended in number by the increasing commerce of the place. The German and French residents are more numerous than the English; and the former in particular have made several large establishments here within the last two years, in reference to the transit trade with the interior of Germany."

This Traveller was present at a sort of *conversazione* given by the Austrian Consul, M. Coch. The company consisted of Greeks, Germans, English, and a few French residents. The ladies of the Consul's family, and the lady and daughter of M. Charnaud, the English Consul, were the only females present. The Austrian Consul and Mr. Charnaud had married sisters of a Greek family, and their daughters, who formed the most cultivated part of the female society

* "This saying conveys the caution, 'to shun the Greek of Athens, the Turk of Negropont, and the Jew of Salonica.'"

Digitized by Google

at Salonica, spoke the Romaic with fluency, using it as their ordinary medium of intercourse. In their costume and manners also, they were more allied to the Greek than to the European character. After some solicitation, the young ladies gave the party a number of songs in the Romaic and Turkish languages. "The style of music," says Dr. H., "was much alike in both, and more interesting from the peculiarity than from the harmony of these national airs. One Romaic song, composed by the unfortunate Riga at the time when the French Revolution gave a passing impulse to the spirits of the Greeks, was sung to the well-known air (of Mozart), 'Life let us cherish.' In listening to this, my memory was carried back for a moment, with a singular shifting of the scene, to the shores of the Faxe Fiord, in Iceland; where, two years before, I had unexpectedly caught the sounds of this very air, played on the chords of the Icelandic *langspiel*."

"Till within the last three or four years," continues this Traveller, "the commerce of Salonica was limited to a certain average amount of exports and imports, which will hereafter be mentioned, and to a small overland traffic with Germany, chiefly for the conveyance of the manufactures of Thessaly. The obstacles opposed to the commerce of Europe by the continental system of Napoleon, while creating an extreme scarcity of colonial produce and British manufactures through the interior of the Continent, had the natural effect of conducting the merchant to more remote channels of intercourse, the increased price of his goods compensating for the greater risk of the enterprise. The port of Salonica formed one of these new channels of commerce, and the progressive extension of the French system during the years 1810, 1811,

Digitized by Google

and 1812, produced an increase in the import trade of this place, depending on the demand in Germany for articles, to which an access was denied by the accustomed routes. To conduct the overland traffic, the partners or agents of various German houses settled themselves at Salonica. The English intercourse with this port had hitherto been carried on through Malta, and in Maltese or Greek vessels; but the increasing demands for goods led to a more immediate communication, and during the year 1812, nearly thirty cargoes arrived here direct from England, besides a still greater number of vessels, under the English flag, from Malta and Gibraltar. The imports by these various cargoes were principally sugar, coffee, indigo, and cotton-twist; with a smaller quantity of other articles of miscellaneous kind. The goods thus forwarded to Salonica, were received by the German agents there, transmitted by land-carriage through Turkey, and the payments made in bill transactions between the commercial houses in Germany and their connexions in England.

"The most singular feature in this trade, is the long and laborious journey by which the goods are transported from the shores of the Archipelago to the very centre of the continent of Europe. Such a journey, indeed, will not compare in length or difficulty with many of those performed by the caravans of the East; but it is nevertheless interesting, both from the nature of the road, and as an evidence of what commerce can rapidly accomplish in removing the impediments to which it may be exposed. From Salonica to the Austrian dominions there are two or three principal routes: one through the province of Bosnia; another through Bulgaria by Widin and Ossova; a third, which deviates from the last at the

Digitized by Google

city of Sophia, taking the direction of Belgrade. The Bosnian route conducts the traveller through Seraglio, a city said to contain more than 50,000 people; but the country to be traversed is so mountainous, that it is comparatively not much frequented. The second route, or that of Bulgaria, is the one which has been adopted for the transit of the overland commerce from Salonica. Pursuing a course nearly due north by Seres, Sophia, and Widin, it enters the Austrian territory at Ossova, and is thence continued through the Bannat of Hungary, by Temeswar, to Pest, Raab, and Vienna. In the subjoined note, some further details are given respecting this road, which seems on the whole to be the most advantageous for the purposes of transit commerce; though, in the present state of Turkey, liable, like others, to interruption from internal feuds and warfare." *

"The goods landed at Salonica for carriage into Germany, are chiefly transported upon the horses of the country. They are made up into packages, each weighing in general 1½ cwt., and of these packages, two are carried by every horse. The cavalcades for this inland journey are of various size, some consisting of one or two hundred, others even exceeding a thousand horses. A few days preceding our arrival, Mr. Leoghley, a German merchant, had despatched one of nearly eleven hundred horses; the greatest number, it is said, which ever departed at one time from the

* "Some of the principal stages upon the Bulgarian route, setting out from Salonica, are, Klissoli, Seres, Dimirlasar, Melenico, Doupnitza (in this vicinity is the great mountain-pass of Kresna), Sophia, Bereoftza (here there occurs a high mountain district), Lomm-Widin, Sambe, Ossova, Mechadia, Teregova, Matina, Karanschebes, Zugosch, Kisgeto, Rekas, Temeswar (the capital of the Bannat), Botskerck, Kemlas, Mokris, &c."

Digitized by Google

city. The property transported by this single conveyance, at a moderate estimate, must have been worth 30,000*l.* on its arrival in Germany. The time occupied in the journey from Salonica to Vienna is in general about thirty-five days, exclusively of the quarantine at Ossova, which at this time was extended to twenty-eight days. The cavalcades usually travel eight hours in the twenty-four. In the evening, they halt in the neighbourhood of some town or village; the packages are taken off the horses and placed in a central spot, with guards around them during the night; the horses pasture in the vicinity, and the men attending the cavalcade supply themselves with provisions from the villages. These men vary in number according to the size of the caravan; one man being commonly attached to every five horses, besides the guards who watch over the security of the whole. It is worthy of remark, that as far down as the close of 1812, no predatory attempt had been made upon these caravans, nor any material loss sustained by petty pillage during this long overland journey."

"Camels are sometimes, but more rarely, employed for the inland carriage of goods to a certain distance from Salonica. Their load is double that of the horse, but the progress they make in a country like European Turkey is slow, and subject to numerous obstacles. We fortunately happened to see in the suburbs of Salonica a train of thirty or forty camels, just arrived from a journey; an interesting spectacle, as well in the magnificent size and attitudes of the animal, as in the connexion it has with the tales and scenery of the East.

"In their passage through the Turkish dominions, the goods are subject to various duties paid to the pashas and other local authorities on the route; but

Digitized by Google

these are for the most part of small account, often not exceeding a few *paras* on each package. They are said to be most considerable at Widin, the Pasha of which place has derived large sums from the passage of the caravans through his territory. I have heard it estimated that the total expense of the transit of sugar and coffee to Vienna was about cent. per cent. on their import value at Salonica, and it is easy to credit this statement. It has not been usual to effect insurances on the overland transport; this risk, as well as the expenses of the journey, being compensated by the great demand for, and high price of colonial articles in Germany. In the autumn of 1812, coffee was selling at Vienna at a common price of 15*l.* per cwt.; sugar and other produce in the same proportion. It was found necessary, in carrying on this trade, to send down from Germany specie sufficient to pay the transit expenses of the goods; no house at Salonica having means to afford accommodation of this kind.

"The return cargoes from Salonica, during this period of its augmented commerce, have been chiefly of grain and timber; the former, in particular, rendered valuable by its deficiency at this time, not only in Spain, but even in Sicily, the ancient granary of Rome. Some obstacles were offered to this export of grain by the French influence operating through Constantinople; but the authority of the Porte in its provinces is too limited to oppose itself to an impulse powerful as that of gain. Shipments of corn, prohibited in appearance, were made with facility during the night; nor was it easy to raise impediments where the local government was the party chiefly concerned in these transactions.

"The restoration of European commerce by the

Digitized by Google

events of the last two years, has had the effect of superseding this transit trade, and of reducing the commerce of Salonica to narrower limits. There is reason, however, to believe that it will still be greater than it was ten years ago; the low price which our colonial produce, &c. for some time bore, having led to an increased demand among Turks as well as Greeks; which demand is likely in part to be continued, though the articles are again raised in value. Still, it may be considered that the trade of the place is now returning to its former level."

What effect the revolution has had upon the commerce and population of Salonika, we have not the means of ascertaining; but its remoteness from the seat of warfare has been a favourable circumstance. In the year 1809, the exports were estimated as follows: wheat 1,000,000 *kilos* (of 55lbs. each); barley, 500,000 *kilos*; Indian corn, 100,000 *kilos*; cotton, 110,000 bales; tobacco, between 35 and 40,000 bales (of 270lbs. each); wool nearly, 1,000,000 lbs.; besides timber for ship-building, which is obtained from the shores of the Gulf, particularly near Katrina.* The ordinary imports consist of clayed sugars, Mocha and West Indian coffee, dye-woods, indigo, cochineal, muslins, printed calicoes, iron, lead, tin, watches, and various articles of a miscellaneous kind. The quantity of none of these articles is very great, but, Dr. Holland says, the trade seems capable of extension,

* The cottons of Macedonia, Dr. H. states, are fine, though inferior, perhaps, to those of Thessaly. The produce of tobacco, he states to have *decreased*, owing to an interruption of the demand by political events. About 15,000 bales annually were sent to Egypt, but a considerable proportion of this was of inferior quality, the first cost not exceeding nine or ten piasters a bale, while that of the Yenidje tobacco was upwards of 40 piasters.

Digitized by Google

and the demand both for colonial and manufactured goods will probably increase. The ordinary import and export duties of the place, are those common to foreign trade in Turkey, viz. 3 *per cent. ad valorem*, which duties are always farmed by the Porte to the pasha or governor of the city. The shipping lie at anchor before the town, but "the form of the Gulf renders the harbour a safe one, and the access to it is by no means difficult."

As Salonika is stated by Beaujour to be the principal seat of Greek commerce, we have entered the more particularly into these commercial details. The common complaint attaches to the city, of being extremely unhealthy in the autumnal months, owing to the vicinity of the great marshes at the head of the Gulf: intermittent and remittent fevers are then exceedingly common, as well as chronic visceral complaints, the result of repeated attacks of those diseases.

Salonica is reckoned a fifteen days' journey with a caravan from Constantinople, and three days from Cavalla, Monte Santo, and Larissa.

MOUNT ATHOS.

THE rugged promontory of Mount Athos which divides the Gulf of Contessa from that of Monte Santo,* forming the south-eastern point of the

* This promontory is joined to the continent by a neck of land about a mile wide, "through which, some historians say, Xerxes cut a channel in order to carry his army from one bay to the other; which seems very improbable," adds Pococke, "nor could I see any sign of such a work. The Gulf of Contessa is the ancient *Sinus Strymonicus;* that of Monte Santo, is the *Sinus Singiticus*, "by the Greeks of the present day called *Amouliane*, from an island of that name at the bottom of it." Between this and the Gulf of Salonica is the Gulf of Cassandra, the ancient *Sinus Toronæus;* now called, Pococke says, *Haia Mamma* (Αγια Μαμμα).

Digitized by Google

Macedonian peninsula, is the holy land of the Greek Church. It is called both by Greeks and by Turks, *Hagon Heros* (Αγιον Ὀρος), "by reason," as Pococke says, "that there are so many convents on it, to which the whole mountain belongs." Of this singular territory and its monastic proprietors, he gives the following description.

"There are on Monte Santo twenty convents, ten on the north side and ten on the south, most of them near the sea, there being only two on the east side and three on the west, that are above a mile from the water, the cape itself not being two leagues wide. Many of these convents are very poor. Some, indeed, have estates abroad, and most of them send out priests to collect alms: the one who is most successful is usually, on his return, made *goumenos*, or abbot, until another brings in a larger sum. They pay a certain price for their lands, and a bostangi resides in their town to receive it, and to protect them against injuries. Every convent also pays a poll-tax for a certain number. It is thought that they are obliged to give lodging and provisions to all comers; but the fact is, that they always expect the benefactions of those who can afford to give. Their manner of living is much the same as that of the monks of Mount Sinai; they never eat meat. The priests and waiters, when in their refectory, wear the hood on their head and a long black cloak; and while they are eating, a person in a pulpit reads some book in the vulgar Greek. In every convent, they have many chapels adjoining their rooms, probably fitted up by particular persons out of devotion to some saint. There are also houses with chapels to them all over the lands of the convents, which they call Kellia, and which might formerly be the cells of hermits; but they are now inhabited only

Digitized by Google

by a caloyer or two, who take care of the adjacent gardens or vineyards. These houses which are on their estates at a distance from the convents, they call Metokia. Besides their lay caloyers, they have also hired servants to labour, called men of the world [κοσμικοι.] They have no kind of learning among them, nor do they even teach the ancient Greek, so that the priests lead very idle unprofitable lives. Some of their convents have been founded by princes of Bulgaria, Servia, and Wallachia, and are filled with people of those countries; and these priests are so extremely ignorant, that they can neither speak nor read the vulgar Greek. The convents are built round a court, with a church in the centre. Four of them on the east side are the largest and richest, and of these, Laura is the chief, and has the most powerful interest and command over the rest: the monks of this convent are esteemed the most polished as well as the most politic. Ineroue and Vatopede are the most beautiful, both in their building and their situation on the water: the fourth is Calandari. Four or five convents on the west side are very singularly situated, being built on high rocks over the water.

"The only town on Monte Santo is Cares, situated about the middle of it, towards the summit, on the northern side, and occupying the most pleasant part of all the mountain. The land of this place belongs to several convents, and most of them have houses and gardens here. The town is inhabited by caloyers, who have their shops, and sell such things as there is a demand for. The only artists they have, are those who make cutlery-ware and beads, and carve reliefs very curiously in wood, either in crosses or historical pieces. Here, they have a market every Saturday, when the people at the distance of three or four days'

Digitized by Google

journey bring in corn and other provisions; all they send out from their mountain being those trinkets they make, together with walnuts, chestnuts, common nuts, and some black cattle, which they buy in order to sell them, when they are fit for the market. They are also in part supplied with wine from abroad, the cold, as it happened this year, very often destroying their grapes. Many houses and gardens in Cares are purchased of the convents by two or three caloyers for their lives: they cultivate their gardens, make images, and lead very agreeable, independent lives."

The monasteries of Mount Athos have been supposed to be very rich, both in mannscripts and in treasures. "Every monastery," says Ricaut, "hath its library of books, which are kept in a lofty tower, under the custody of one whom they call Σκευοφυλακα, who is also their steward; but they are piled one on the other, without order or method, covered with dust and exposed to the worm.... He that sees the various coverings they have for their altars, the rich ornaments they have for their churches, will not apprehend those people to be very poor.. Their basons, ewers, dishes, plates, candlesticks, and incense-pots, of precious metal, are not to be reckoned, many of which are of pure gold or of silver gilt. They have crosses of a vast bigness, edged with plates of gold, and studded with precious stones, whence hang strings of oriental pearls." Dr. Clarke states the number of the monks at 6000, "of whom about two thousand are abroad, begging for their lazy brethren at home." This is probably an exaggerated estimate. The contribution annually paid to the Turkish government as a fine or rent, is about 1000 dollars; "not amounting," adds the learned Traveller, "to a thousandth part of the gifts annually made to them by the

Digitized by Google

princes and priests of Russia, Moldavia, Wallachia, and Georgia."

It is much to be regretted, that we have no competent or satisfactory account of these establishments. The only modern traveller who has visited Mount Athos, is the late Mr. Tweddell, who fell a sacrifice to the undertaking: he died at Athens of a fever which was attributed to the excessive fatigue attending this journey. Whether any ancient manuscripts of value yet remain concealed amid the lumber of these monastic libraries, still remains to be ascertained, as Mr. Tweddell's discoveries, if he made any, have perished with him. Few parts of the country hold out a stronger invitation to the adventurous traveller. The scenery, the geological phenomena, the *possible* discoveries of a literary nature which may remain to be made, and the ancient sites * which the monasteries may, perhaps, conceal or occupy, to say nothing of the worthy caloyers themselves, all combine to present the strongest inducement to explore the recesses of the Holy Mountain. According to the sketches made by the artist who accompanied Mr. Tweddell, the monasteries, Dr. Clarke says, are like so many little fortresses in the midst of the most sublime solitudes, Mount Athos being as craggy and rugged as one of the peaks of Caucasus. All the other parts of the peninsula, though hilly, are low in comparison with the mountain, described by Pococke as a very steep, rocky height, covered with pines. The appearance of

* Within the peninsula and upon the mountain, there were no fewer than five cities in the time of Strabo, mentioned also by Herodotus and Thucydides; namely, Dion, Olophyxus, Acrothoon, Thyssus, and Cleonæ. The mineralogy of Macedonia, a province which once yielded such enormous wealth, the Minæ Gerae of the ancients, has never yet been investigated.

Digitized by Google

the peninsula from the Gulf of Salonica, is thus described by Dr. Holland. *

"The day after our departure from Salonica, we proceeded slowly down the gulf with little wind, but a heavy and lurid sky, with broken masses of dark cloud, from which our captain derived evil prognostics. The interesting character of the shores was not lessened to us, however, by this state of the weather. On our right hand were the richly-wooded plains of Katrina, and those of the mouth of the Peneus, with the heights of Olympus and Ossa forming a magnificent barrier behind. On the opposite side, the eye reposed first on the peninsula anciently called Pallene: the promontory of Posidium was distinctly to be seen as we sailed along the coast; and the observation of the isthmus connecting the peninsula with the main-land, allowed us to discern more remotely the general situation of Potidæa and Olynthus, cities which gained celebrity in the wars between Philip and the Athenians. The peninsula of Pallene, which no where rises into lofty hills, is fertile and well cultivated, yielding a considerable quantity of grain for exportation. Beyond the Gulf of Cassandra (the Toronaic of the ancients), which forms its eastern boundary, another low and narrow peninsula stretches in a south-east direction into the Archipelago. Over these peninsulas and two intermediate gulfs, we saw the lofty pinnacle of Mount Athos rising in the distance, appearing from this point of view as a vast in-

* This Traveller proceeded by sea from Salonica to Zeitun, to escape the difficulties and perils of the journey to Larissa. Owing to contrary winds, he was *thirteen* days upon the sea, and narrowly escaped shipwreck: it is, in fair weather, a voyage of two days.

Digitized by Google

sulated cone, with a smaller conical eminence arising from one of its sides."

Pliny speaks of the shadow of this mountain as stretching to Myrrhina in Lemnos, when the sun is going down, which is computed to be above twenty leagues distant; and the island of Skiathos is stated to derive its name from the fact, that at sunrise in the summer solstice, the shadow is projected thus far over the intervening sea. We are not aware that modern observation has either verified or disproved the correctness of this statement, which would give the mountain a very considerable elevation.

FROM SALONICA TO LARISSA.

THE route from Salonica to Larissa is not much frequented, most persons embarking here for some Thessalian port. Dr. Holland crossed the gulf from near Leuterochori (the free-village—pronounced Levtskoi), situated on an eminence two miles from the coast, and occupying the site of the ancient Methone, in besieging which Philip lost his right eye. That city was the last town of Pieria, upon leaving which the traveller entered Bottiæa; and here, it is remarkable that the district of the Bey of Seres begins, the territory of Ali Pasha of Epirus having extended thus far eastward over the ancient Macedonia. The distance of Kitros, a small town five miles further inland, exactly answers to the forty *stadia* between Methone and Pydna, on or near the site of which Kitros is built. The distance of Salonica from this point does not exceed twenty miles; but calms or contrary winds detained Dr. Holland eight hours on the passage. "Our course," he says, "lay at a short distance from the head of the Gulf, where the great plains of

Digitized by Google

Macedonia terminate in extensive marshes and lagoons, through which the two large rivers, the Vardari and the Vistritza, flow to the sea. Of these rivers, the Vardari is the most considerable, rising from the mountains in the centre of the continent of Turkey, and bringing down a large and constant body of water. This was the Axius of antiquity, to which Homer applies the name of the *wide-flowing*, and on which stood Pella, the capital of the Macedonian kings, at the distance of about fourteen miles from its mouth. The Vistritza seems to have been either the Lydias or the Erigon; but now, as formerly, the rivers communicate by different branches, while flowing through these marshy plains; and, not impossibly, have undergone many changes in their course. The head of the gulf is rendered very shallow by the alluvial depositions, which are doubtless still going on in this situation, and which eventually may much impede the navigation of the port. At present, the shoals form good fishing-grounds, and numerous boats are constantly engaged in this occupation for the supply of Salonica and other towns on the coast."

Dr. Clarke proceeded from Leuterochori by land, halting for the night at the khan of Lebano. Continuing his journey at some distance from the sea, to avoid the swampy shore and the mouths of rivers, which were all inundated, he crossed, in four hours, the *Inge Mauro* at a ferry. In three hours more, proceeding over muddy plains, he crossed in the same manner, another large river called *Kara-smak* (or *Mauro-smak*) which the learned Traveller supposes to be the Lydias.* Two hours further, he saw, to the left, a village called Yanitza, at the base of a moun-

* Apparently the Vistritza of Dr. Holland.

Digitized by Google

tain, by the foot of which flows the Vardar or Axius. * He crossed this river by a bridge of planks, a quarter of a mile in length; and in two hours beyond, arrived at a miserable village called Tekale, where some granite columns and the *operculum* of an immense marble *soros*, indicated the vicinity of some ancient edifice. In two hours more, he arrived at Salonica.

We return to Kitros, "indisputably the ancient Kydna, or Pydna," in the valley before which P. Æmilius, the Roman general, gained the memorable victory over Perseus, king of Macedon, which cost him his kingdom. From that time, B.C. 168, Macedonia was reduced to a Roman province. Kitros stands on a low ridge overlooking a valley of some breadth, watered by two small rivers, the ancient names of which were the Æson and the Lycus. The nature of the ground in its present state, we are told, accurately accords with the narrative, and illustrates

* In a note taken from Mr. Crippe's MS. Journal, it is stated, on the authority of some shepherds, that the source of this river is a spring which rises in the midst of a swamp or bog, and forms a river upon the spot eleven yards in width. Soon afterwards it becomes augmented by seven tributary streams. This swamp is several days up the country. Almost the whole of Macedonia is a *hiatus* in Geography. "We know nothing," remarks Dr. Clarke, "of Pœonia or of Pelagonia, or of the whole region westward to the borders of Illyria. Some means of communication must still exist along the *Via Ignatia*, from the north of the Thermaic Gulf to the Illyrian coast of the Adriatic." In this route occurs the ancient Ægæ, Malobotira, or Edessa, the ancient capital and burial place of the Macedonian kings. The place is now called Vodina, and has been visited by an English traveller, Dr. Flott Lee, who thus describes it. "It is a delightful spot. There are sepulchres cut in the rock, which the superstitious inhabitants have never plundered, because they are afraid to go near them. I went into two, and saw the bodies in perfect repose, with some kinds of ornaments, and clothes, and vases, but touched them not. There is a beautiful inscription in the town. The fall of waters is magnificent."—MS. Letter in Clarke, vol. vii. p. 435.

Digitized by Google

the circumstances of the event.* Dr. Clarke noticed near the village, the ruins of a chapel, "perhaps the site of an ancient temple;" but the only decided vestige of antiquity is an immense tumulus, which forms a conspicuous object towards the sea, and is supposed by the learned Traveller to be the *polyandrium* erected in memory of those who perished in that battle. Three hours from Kitros, proceeding southward, is Katarina, a post town of between 2 and 300 houses, inhabited chiefly by Greeks; it is situated in the midst of a plain, surrounded with woods of chestnut and plane. It is from this part of the coast that the greater part of the timber is obtained, which forms so important a branch of the export trade of Salonica. The country between Kitros and Katarina is described by Dr. Clarke as "a wretched sandy common, covered with brake (*pteris aquilina*)."† Dr. Holland states, that the roads are very bad, and the country uninteresting;

* "The Macedonian army, retiring from their fortresses on the Enipeus, in apprehension of Scipio's coming upon their rear, took post on the northern side of this valley, in front of Pydna. The Roman army arrived soon afterwards on the southern bank of the river, and one night intervened in this relative position, before the battle took place. This night was signalized by a total eclipse of the moon; an event for which the sagacity of P. Emilius had already prepared his army, but which was unexpected by the Macedonians, and produced great terror in their ranks. The battle took place the next day on the banks of the river. The enthusiasm of the Romans, seconded by the prudence of their general, speedily overcame the enemy, and the Macedonian army was almost wholly destroyed. We are told that 20,000 were slain on the field, and that the number of prisoners exceeded 10,000. Perseus himself fled through the forests of Pieria to Pella, and was some time afterwards made a prisoner in Samothrace."—HOLLAND'S *Travels*, vol. ii. p. 36.

† In these plains, Dr. Clarke says, are pastured sheep, hogs, buffaloes, and oxen. The dogs of the Arnaout shepherds wear body clothes, which has a strange effect.

Digitized by Google

but adds, that it appeared to be of calcareous formation, was well cultivated, and produces much grain: "the general surface is plane, intersected, however, by many small valleys, descending towards the sea, which is no where distant more than five miles from the road." From this plain, the ancient Pieria, the termination of Olympus is seen towards the W.S.W., and beyond it, in the same direction, rises another lofty mountain, continuing the great mountain barrier between Macedonia and Thessaly: these two, with Ossa, Dr. Clarke describes as having the appearance of a vast wall, reaching to the clouds. The mountains extending west and north of Olympus are supposed to be the Cambunian, over which a narrow defile conducted from Pieria into Perrhæbia and Thessaly.

Between two and three miles south of Katarina, proceeding towards Larissa, a large and rapid river, descending from the mountains to the N. W. of Olympus, is crossed at a ford. This is supposed to be the Haliacmon of the ancients, which, according to Strabo, bounded Pieria on the south, as the Axius did on the north; and Dr. Clarke supposes Katarina to be Dium; but the topography of the whole of this part is involved in great obscurity.* Two miles beyond this river, an extensive marsh is formed by another stream, which "may be the Buphyris of Livy;" and near its mouth is a little *scala* or port, where small vessels take in the wool produced by the

* About half way between Platamonos and Katarina, where the plain bears the name of Kallidia or Kallithia, Dr. Clarke crossed by a bridge, the Malathria river, flowing from Olympus; and just before he reached Katarina, he forded the *Mauro-nero* and the *Pollica*, which unite before they fall into the Gulf, and form, the learned Traveller thinks, the Baphyrus.

Digitized by Google

flocks of Olympus and the northern part of Thessaly. At twelve miles from Katarina, is the wretched town of Litochori, consisting of houses scattered over a rugged and uneven surface, at the very foot of Olympus, and almost overhung by the precipices of the mountain. Nearly opposite the town, a vast ravine penetrates into the interior of the mountain, through the opening of which may be seen what Dr. Holland supposes to be the summit,—"an obtuse cone, with a somewhat concave ascending line on each side; the sides exhibiting mural precipices of extraordinary height." The thick fog which overspread the country, prevented him from making any very accurate observations; but the transient view he obtained from this point, exhibited a line of precipices of vast height, forming the eastern front of the mountain towards the sea, broken at intervals by deep ravines richly clothed with forest trees. The base and skirts of the mountain are covered with oak, chestnut, beech, and plane, while towards the summit of the first ridge, dark forests of pine spread along the acclivities, giving that character to the face of the mountain which is so often alluded to by the poets.* Behind this first ridge, others rise up and recede towards the loftier central heights of Olympus, then covered with the snows of winter.

Few of the Grecian mountains rise to the height of Olympus, which is never entirely free from snow. Its elevation has never been barometrically ascertained. Plutarch states, that the philosopher Xenagoras ascertained it to be rather more than ten *stadia*, and M. Bernouilli gives the height at 1017 toises

* Seneca calls it *pinifer Olympus*; Virgil speaks of the *frondosum Olympum*; and Horace has *opaco Olympo*. Hesiod applies to it the epithet νιφοεις.

Digitized by Google

(6500 feet). The summit is inaccessible in winter, but the ascent is perfectly practicable in the summer season; and once a year, on the 20th of June,* the priests of a village called Scamnia, (situated to the right of the road from Katarina to Platamonos,) repair to a small Greek chapel near the highest point, to perform mass. This is one of the many curious instances of the adoption, by the Christian natives, of the ancient ceremonies of the pagan worship. Possibly, the old altar may yet remain, on which sacrifices were offered to the Olympian deity. The highest habitation on the mountain is the monastery of St. Dionysius, on its eastern side, and in the route which conducts to the summit.

A narrow strip of open country, descending from the base of Olympus to the sea, and intersected by several valleys which bring down the waters from the eastern side, extends from Litochori to Platomana, the ancient Heraclea. This is the grand passage from Thessaly into Macedonia. The most considerable of these valleys, which opens out from a deep rocky ravine, is probably that of the Enipeus, in which Perseus had strongly entrenched himself when he was compelled to retire, on being taken in rear by a detachment sent round over the mountain. Platomana is still the seat of a Greek bishopric, extending to Ampelachia, Rapshani, and the neighbouring Greek towns. There is a khan here, containing several Doric pillars with their capitals inverted; and Dr. Clarke mentions an ancient aqueduct sup-

* Probably a mistake for the 24th, St. John's day. From Scamnia, which is five hours and a half from Platamonos, the ascent takes between four and five hours; but the best and easiest ascent, Dr. Clarke was told, is from the village of Careah, distant six hours from Platamonos.

Digitized by Google

plying a marble reservoir. The modern castle, a large and irregular groupe of buildings surrounded with a lofty wall, is built on a rocky promontory overhanging the sea, commanding the narrow pass between it and the hills. On the south side of this promontory, a stream, flowing in a deep channel, falls into the sea. A Turkish cemetery is below the fortress, close to the village. The road now runs along the coast for some time, and then turns up into the plains through which the Peneus, after winding through the defile of Tempe, finds its way, in a N.E. direction to the sea. "The appearance of this plain," Dr. Holland says, "is rich and luxuriant in the extreme; and what is uncommon in Greece, it is divided in part by small enclosures. It is richly wooded over its whole extent, the trees being chiefly the plane and mulberry, and many of the former are remarkable for their large and venerable growth. A great part of the plain is occupied in the culture of maize and wheat, which are principally conveyed to Salonica for exportation." * On the north-eastern declivity of Mount Ossa, the southern boundary of Tempe, are several towns and villages, some of considerable size, almost entirely peopled at that time by Greeks.

Dr. Holland crossed the Peneus (now called the Salymbria,) at a horse-ferry, "an unworthy substi-

* How are we to account for the singularly different description given by Dr. Clarke? "As soon as the gorge (of Tempe) opens, and a view of the Pierian (Penean) plain is exhibited, the traveller beholds a disagreeable, swampy flat, covered with dwarf trees, reeds, and thorns." Again: "In journeying along the western side of the Thermæan Gulf, the whole district, from the mouth of the Peneus to that of the Axius, is one swampy plain, bounded on the west by the chain of Olympus. There are no hills to form subdivisions; so that, whether called Bottiæa, Pieria, or Perrhæbia, it is all one and the same plain."—vol. viii. pp. 384, 396.

Digitized by Google

tute for a bridge, half a mile below, which, two winters before, had been broken by a winter's flood." On gaining the southern bank, the traveller is in Thessaly. For the best description of the celebrated defile, so well known under the name of the Vale of Tempe,* we shall have recourse to the pages of Dr. Clarke.

TEMPE.

"THE Peneus occupies the whole of the valley from side to side, with the exception only of the narrow pass afforded by the old paved causeway of the military way, which extends along the right bank of the river. Fragments of the Atracian marble appeared in different parts of this pavement: to afford space for it, even the solid rocks were cut away from the side of the Peneus. Here the scenery possesses the utmost grandeur. The precipices consist of naked perpendicular rocks, rising to a prodigious height, so that the spectator can scarcely behold them from below without giddiness. Livy's description, therefore, in addition to its intrinsic grandeur, has all the majesty of truth. The various colours which adorn the surfaces of these rocks, can only be expressed by painting; and how beautiful would the effect be, if these masses were faithfully delineated in all their distinct or blended hues, of ashen grey, and green, and white, and ochreous red and brown, and black, and yellow! Such description by the pen, suggests

* According to Suidas, the word τεμπη was applicable to all wooded glens, although pre-eminently to that between Ossa and Olympus. It is at present called Τζαμπας, an apparent corruption of the ancient name; but the modern Greeks would pronounce this *Zamba*, which bears no resemblance to the original.

Digitized by Google

no distinct image to the mind. Upon their utmost peaks, both to the right and left, we saw the ruins of an ancient fortress, once the bulwark of the defile, whose walls were made to traverse the precipices in a surprising manner, quite down to the road. The cliffs are so perpendicular, and the gorge is so narrow, that it would be absolutely impossible for an army to pass while the strait was guarded by these fortifications."

The learned Traveller describes the defile as bearing some resemblance to the pass of Killicrankie in Scotland, and to Dovedale in Derbyshire, but upon a much grander scale. Owing to some tremendous convulsion of nature, it is supposed that Olympus and Ossa have been separated from each other by the formation of this vast cleft, at the bottom of which the Peneus obtains its outlet. "If ever the waters of the Black Sea should be so far drained as to leave only a river flowing through the canal of Constantinople, then the Thracian Bosphorus will become what Tempe is now. That a sea like the Euxine, once covering the whole of Thessaly, was drained by the opening of this chasm, is not only evident from the position of the *strata* on either side, but the fact has always been traditionally transmitted, so as to become a theme of poetical allusion, if not a portion of history."* Dr. Holland says, that St. Vincent's Rocks near Bristol, convey a correct idea of the scenery of Tempe, taking into account the difference of the scale. The Peneus, as it flows through the defile, is not much wider than the Avon, and the channel between the cliffs is of equally con-

* Neptune is fabled to have opened this outlet for the river, by striking the mountains with his trident; a Greek periphrase for an earthquake. This event is conjectured to have happened about B.C. 1885.

Digitized by Google

tracted dimensions; but the cliffs of the Thessalian mountains are very much loftier and more precipitous, towering, in some places on the northern side, to six or eight hundred feet above the river, and projecting their vast masses with more extraordinary abruptness over the hollow beneath.

"Where the surface renders it possible, the summits and ledges of the rocks are for the most part covered with small wood, chiefly oak, with the arbutus and other shrubs. On the banks of the river, wherever there is a small interval between the water and the cliffs, it is covered with the rich and widely-spreading foliage of the plane, the oak, and other forest trees, which in these situations have attained a remarkable size, and in various places extend their shade far over the channel of the stream. The ivy winding round many of them, may bring to the mind of the traveller, the beautiful and accurate description of Ælian, who has done more justice to the scenery of Tempe than any other writer of antiquity."

The length of the defile, taken in its whole extent from the Pierian to the Pelasgic plain, is reckoned an hour's distance "to a horse walking moderately fast;" which corresponds to Pliny's statement of five Roman miles. At the western extremity stands the Turkish village of Baba, on the southern bank of the river, from which an irregular cork-screw road, in some places cut in the rock,* in others, carried along the channel of mountain torrents, conducts the traveller to the Greek

* The road is paved, and is full, Dr. Clarke says, of a green chlorite schistus, containing veins of white marble and white quartz. "Quarries of *verdé antico* (*Marmor Atracium*) might now be wrought in Mount Ossa." The rocks on each side the defile are described by Dr. Holland, as a coarse bluish-grey marble with veins of a finer quality.

Digitized by Google

town of Ambelachia, supposed to be the ancient Atrakia. This remarkable place, consisting of about 400 houses, is described as literally hanging upon the sides of Mount Ossa. "Nothing," says Dr. Holland, "can be more picturesque than the various groupes of buildings which compose it. Rising out of the thick foliage of woods, overhanging the deep ravines of the mountain, their open galleries and projecting roofs render the effect of situation still more singular and imposing to the eye. The oak, olive, and cypress spread over the broken surface on which the town stands, and intermix with the foliage of vineyards; while the loftier ridges of the mountain, receding towards the south, are covered with long rows of pines. A few of the houses are built and furnished in the European manner.

"Ampelachia is interesting in its inhabitants, as well as in the scenery which surrounds it. These are almost exclusively Greeks; and what may seem singular in a place thus situated, have been noted, for some years past, for the extent of their commercial undertakings, and for a character of active intelligence and enterprise, which has procured them a high repute among the communities of modern Greece. Most of the merchants of Ampelachia have visited or resided in the great commercial cities of the continent, and established connexions there, the extent and success of which are testified in the wealth many of them have acquired. These connexions are chiefly with Germany; but also with Constantinople, Smyrna, and other places of trade in the Levant. The commerce of the place has its basis in manufacture; and the population of the town, like that of Tornavo and other places in the surrounding country, is actively engaged in the various processes of making and dyeing

Digitized by Google

cotton thread, the staple commodity of the country. A great part of the cotton grown on the plains of Thessaly, is brought to this district for the use of its manufacturers. It is estimated that the town of Ampelachia furnishes annually about 3000 bales of dyed cotton thread, each bale being calculated at 250 lbs. Of this quantity nearly the whole is transmitted by land carriage to Germany; a traffic which is well regulated, and carried on with much activity by the Ampelachian merchants.

"It may be added regarding the inhabitants of this town, that while thus reputed in their commercial character, they have acquired much respect from their general cultivation of mind, and from the aids they have afforded to the literature of their country. There is a considerable Greek school here, which is said to be in a flourishing state."

LARISSA.

TWENTY miles from Ampelachia, ascending the Salympria through the Pelasgic plain, is Larissa (called by the Turks, Yeniseri), a town containing between 20 and 30,000 Moslems, with a few Greeks and Jews, twenty-six mosques, and one Greek church, the catholicon or cathedral.* This place is still, as formerly, the capital of Thessaly: a hundred villages are comprised within its jurisdiction. It seems remarkable, however, for nothing so much as the savage bigotry of the inhabitants, who bore a bad character so far back as when Pococke travelled, in the middle of the

* Dr. Holland states the number of houses at 4000; Dr. Clarke at 7000; Pococke at 15,000 Turkish, 1500 Greek, and 300 Jewish families. The Greek archbishop was residing here by a sort of sufferance.

Digitized by Google

last century. The town is between three and four miles in circuit; the market is well supplied, and the surrounding territory is very productive, particularly in corn and cotton; but the air is reckoned insalubrious. Many of the Turks of Larissa are very powerful and opulent. There are no mosques in Greece, Mr. Dodwell says, so grand as those in this city, and they probably contain rich marbles and ancient inscribed fragments; but he was not permitted to enter any of them.* Dr. Holland was surprised at observing the large number of negroes in the population, which was much greater than he had remarked in any of the Turkish towns.

About six miles to the N.W. of Larissa, is the large town of Ternavo, the principal seat of a large manufactory of cotton stuffs, which are exported to various parts of the Levant, and even to Malta. Many of the Greek inhabitants of this place, are stated to have acquired considerable wealth from this branch of commerce.

Twelve hours W.S.W. of Larissa, is the city of Trikala, the Trikka of the ancients, situated on the eastern side of a low ridge, at a short distance from the banks of the Salympria. This city is of considerable extent, containing more than 2000 houses, and between 10 and 12,000 inhabitants, chiefly Turks; the number of Greek families not exceeding 6 or 700. It is the residence of a Greek bishop, whose diocese extends over the other part of the plains of Thessaly, and

* A large mosque, which stands upon the eminence commanding the bridge over the Peneus, (the site, probably, of the ancient citadel,) has a portico supported by ancient columns reversed. In another part of the city, Dr. Holland observed the remains of a marble statue fixed as a corner-stone to the pavement, with other stones exhibiting illegible inscriptions.

Digitized by Google

who is subject to the metropolitan of Larissa. Like many other towns in Turkey, it seems to stand in a wood, and the lofty minarets of seven mosques, rising up among the trees, have a very picturesque effect; there are also ten Greek churches, and two synagogues. On a hill above the city, and near the extremity of the ridge on which it is built, are the ruins of a castle, apparently of the age of the Greek emperors, commanding a fine view of the opening of the Thessalian plains. The vale of the Salympria, which, opposite the city, is about ten miles wide, expands further down to little less than twenty; while, in a longitudinal direction, towards the S.E., the eye ranges over, probably, fifty miles of pasture land, or richly cultivated plain. In this vast landscape, little wood is seen, and there are scarcely any inclosures, the lands being divided chiefly by ditches; but at intervals, towns or villages are descried, with their houses scattered amid groupes of trees. The manufacture of blankets and coarse woollens, from the wool supplied by the large flocks which pasture on these plains during winter, occupies a considerable number of the inhabitants of Trikala.

The Salympria is formed by the confluence of two streams flowing from Pindus, which unite at the Khan of Malakossi, near the site of the ancient Æginium. The most northerly of these is supposed to be the Ion of Strabo. The valley of the Peneus, throughout its whole course, is extremely picturesque and interesting; but the most extraordinary scenery which it presents, is in the vicinity of Kalabaka or Stagi (the Stagos of the Byzantine writers), a small town of 200 houses, twelve miles above Trikkala, in a N. W. direction. Of this singular spot, Dr. Holland gives the following description:—

Digitized by Google

METEORA (ITHOME).

"Long before we reached the town of Kalabaka," (approaching it from the N.W.), "our attention was engaged by the distant view of the extraordinary rocks of Meteora, which give to the vicinity of this place, a character perfectly unique to the eye, and not less remarkable in the reality of the scene. These rocks are seen from a great distance in descending the valley of the Salympria; but it was not until we had forded over to the left bank of the river, a short distance above Kalabaka, that we became aware of all the singularity of their situation and character. On this side of the Salympria, and about a mile distant from the river, they rise from the comparatively flat surface of the valley,—a groupe of insulated masses, cones, and pillars of rock, of great height, and for the most part so perpendicular in their ascent, that each one of their numerous fronts seems to the eye as a vast wall, formed rather by the art of man than by the more varied and irregular workings of nature. In the deep and winding recesses which form the intervals between these lofty pinnacles, the thick foliage of trees gives a shade and colouring, which, while it enhances the contrast, does not diminish the effect of the great masses of naked rock impending above. When we approached this spot, the evening was already far advanced, but the setting sun still threw a gleam of light on the summits of these rocky pyramids, and shewed us the outline of several Greek monasteries in this extraordinary situation, as if entirely separated from the reach of the world below. For the moment, the delusion might have been extended to the moral character of these institutions, and the fancy might

Digitized by Google

have framed to itself a purer form of religion amidst this insulated magnificence of nature, than when contaminated by worldly intercourse and admixture. How completely this is delusion, it requires but a hasty reference to the present and past history of monastic worship, sufficiently to prove. It is the splendour of nature alone, which is seen in the rocks of Meteora; and the light of the sun lingering on their heights, shews only those monuments of mingled vanity and superstition, which have arisen from the devices of selfish policy, or of mistaken religion.

"The most striking part of the scenery of Meteora is that to the north-west of this elevated point, and within the area of the supposed triangle. Following, for more than a mile, a narrow path, which conducted us below its precipitous front, and amidst other insulated masses of less considerable height, we entered one of the deep valleys or recesses, which lead to the interior of the groupe, and continued our progress along it, by a gradual ascent through the forest of wood which occupies this intervening space. On each side of us were lofty pinnacles of rock of the most extraordinary kind; some of them entirely conical, others single pillars of great height, and very small diameter; other masses very nearly rhomboidal in form, and actually inclining over their base; others, again, perfect squares or oblongs, with perpendicular sides and level summits. Nor by the term *masses*, are mere fragments of rock to be understood. It is the original mountain which is cleft and divided in this wonderful manner; by what agency it might be difficult to determine, but perhaps by the conjoint operation of earthquakes, and of that progressive detritus and decay which proceed perpetually over the face of the globe. The height of these insulated rocks is

Digitized by Google

various. The greater number rise more than 100 feet from the level of the valley of the Salympria; several reach the height of 2 and 300 feet; and that of which I have already spoken, above Kalabaka, appears to be about 500 feet in height.

"The Greek monasteries of Meteora are variously situated, either on the summits of these pinnacles, or in caverns, which nature and art have united to form in parts of the rock that seem inapproachable by the foot of man. Their situation, indeed, is more extraordinary than can be understood from description alone. Four of the monasteries actually occupy the whole summit of the insulated rocks on which they stand; a perpendicular precipice descending from every side of the buildings into the deep wooded hollows which intervene between the heights. The only access to these aërial prisons is by ropes and nets, or by ladders fixed firmly to the rock, in those places where its surface affords any points of suspension; and these ladders, in some instances, connected with artificial tunnels, which give a passage of easier ascent to the buildings above. The monastery called by distinction the Meteora, which is the largest of the number, stands in the remarkable situation just described, and is accessible only in this method. Still more extraordinary is the position of another of these buildings, on the left hand of the approach to the former. It is situated on a narrow rectangular pillar of rock, apparently about 120 feet in height, the summit of which is so limited in extent, that the walls of the monastery seem on every side to have the same plane of elevation as the perpendicular faces of the rock.

"The number of monasteries at Meteora is said to have been formerly twenty-four; but at present, owing partly to the wearing away of the rocks on

Digitized by Google

which they stood, and partly to the decay of the buildings themselves, only ten of these remain, of which the following are inhabited: Meteora or Meteoron, Aios Stephanos, Barlaam, Aia Triada, Aios Nicholas, Rosaria, and Aia Mone.

"Aios Stephanos, which we visited, is among the most extraordinary of the number: its height is upwards of 180 feet. To arrive at the foot of the pinnacle on which it stands, we proceeded up the recess among the rocks by a steep and rugged path, winding underneath the foliage of the ancient trees which spread their roots among the vast masses detached from the rocks above. The path conducts you through a defile, not more than twenty or thirty yards in width, between two rocks, each probably more than 300 feet in height, the intervening space filled up by trees and vast detached fragments. On the summit of one of these rocks stands the monastery to which it was our intention to ascend.

"Passing through the ravine just mentioned, we wound round the base of the rock, gradually ascending till we came to the foot of a perpendicular line of cliff, and looking up, saw the buildings of the monastery immediately above our heads. A small wooden shed projected beyond the plane of the cliff, from which a rope, passing over a pulley at the top, descended to the foot of the rock. A man was seen looking down from above, to whom our Tartar shouted loudly, ordering him to receive us into the monastery; but at this time the monks were engaged in their chapel, and it was ten minutes before we could receive an answer to his order and our request. At length, we saw a thicker rope coming down from the pulley, and attached to the end of it a small rope net, which, we found, was intended for our conveyance

Digitized by Google

to this aërial habitation. The net reached the ground; our Tartar, and a peasant whom we had with us from Kalabaka, spread it open, covered the lower part with an Albanese capote, and my friend and I seated ourselves upon this slender vehicle. As we began to ascend, our weight drew close the upper aperture of the net, and we lay crouching together, scarcely able, and little willing, to stir either hand or foot. We rose with considerable rapidity; and the projection of the shed and pulley beyond the line of the cliff, was sufficient to secure us against injury from striking upon the rock. Yet the ascent had something in it that was formidable, and the impression it made, was very different from that of the descent into a mine, where the depth is not seen, and the sides of the shaft give a sort of seeming security against danger. Here we were absolutely suspended in the air; our only support was the thin cordage of a net, and we were even ignorant of the machinery, whether secure or not, which was thus drawing us rapidly upwards. We finished the ascent, however, which is 156 feet, in safety, and in less than three minutes.* When opposite the door of the wooden shed, several monks and other people appeared, who dragged the net into the apartment, and released us from our cramped and uncomfortable situation. We found, on looking round us, that these men had been employed in working the windlass which raised us from the ground; and in observing some of their feeble and decayed figures, it was impossible to suppose that the danger of our ascent had been one of appearance alone. Our servant Demetrius, meanwhile,

* The passage through the air, at the monastery of Barlaam, is nearly 200 feet.

Digitized by Google

had been making a still more difficult progress upwards, by ladders fixed to the ledges of the rock, conducting to a subterranean passage which opens out in the middle of the monastery.

"The monks received us with civility, and we remained with them more than an hour in their extraordinary habitation. The buildings are spread irregularly over the whole summit of the rock, enclosing two or three small areas: they have no splendour, either external or internal, and exhibit only the appearances of wretchedness and decay. There were only five monks, with a few attendants, resident in the monastery when we visited it; all of them miserable in their exterior, and with conceptions as narrow and confined as the rocks on which they live. Even their insulated and almost inaccessible situation has not secured these poor people from plunder and outrage. The property belonging to the several monasteries is in the valleys below, and the inhabitants of a small village underneath their rocks, supply food to these aërial habitations. The Albanian soldiers have frequently plundered this village; and depending either on the mandate of their superiors, or on other less licensed means, occasionally compel an entrance into the monasteries themselves, the miserable proprietors of which have little security against such acts of outrage."

These remarkable rocks appear to have been known to the ancients, under the name of Ithome; and they probably exhibited, even at the remotest period, something of their present extraordinary character; but within a comparatively recent period, they have undergone a considerable change in their size and form. They are composed entirely of conglomerate, comprising fragments of granite, gneiss, mica slate, chlorite slate, sienite, green stone, and quartz pebbles,

Digitized by Google

most of these stones having the appearance of being water-worn.* From their very nature, they are extremely liable to dilapidation and decay; yet it is difficult, Dr. Holland remarks, to conceive how they should have assumed their present abrupt and precipitous forms, otherwise than from the agency of earthquakes, or some other convulsion of nature. They must, he thinks, have been somewhat less abrupt than they now are, at the time the monasteries were built, to admit of their being constructed. That of Meteora was founded in 1371, by John Palæologus, of the imperial family; that of Barlaam, by Nectarius of Ioannina, in 1536; that of *Agia Triada* in 1476.† It is certain, at all events, that the work of decomposition is going on. "Many of the religious edifices on their summits have disappeared; others are rapidly sinking into decay; and some centuries hence, the monasteries of Meteora may exist but as a name and tradition of past times." ‡

Our contracting limits admonish us, that we must here terminate our topographical description of the

* As a geological phenomenon, the rocks of Montserrat in Catalonia, which in like manner are entirely conglomerate, come the nearest to those of Meteora; their composition and form, however, are different.—See MOD. TRAV., *Spain*, vol. i. p. 101. Dr. Holland enters into some further geological details, for which we must refer the scientific reader to his interesting volumes.

† "One of the monasteries, in its original establishment by Maria, the sister of John Palæologus, was intended for the reception of women alone; but this female population gradually declined, and was replaced by the other sex, till the institution became one entirely of monks. In this convent, however, as well as in that of Aios Stephanos, some women are still retained as a part of the household; but the entrance of any female is rigidly forbidden by the regulations of Meteora, Barlaam, and others of these establishments."

‡ Holland's Travels, vol. ii. pp. 332—52.

Digitized by Google

ancient Thessaly. Since the travellers whose steps we have been pursuing, visited these regions, convulsions, not of nature, but of a political kind, have desolated the fertile plains, swept away the villages and towns, and changed the whole state of things as regards the population. We could not, therefore, with the accuracy that is desirable, at present complete our survey. Our readers will, we hope, be better satisfied to have a complete and correct account of the countries we have been describing, than a meagre sketch of a larger tract. In devoting this volume chiefly to the topography of Thrace, Macedonia, and Bulgaria, we have aimed to connect with a general view of the Turkish empire, a description of the capital and of those provinces which formed the original seat and limit of the Ottoman power in Europe. The volumes on Syria and Asia Minor contain an account of the Asiatic provinces, the native dominions and earliest conquests of its founders. Greece, though still a word of doubtful import in geography, has received the separate attention which it demands, in the volumes descriptive of the Morea and Livadia. There yet remains a large tract of territory nominally Turkish, on the coast of the Ionian Sea and Adriatic Gulf, which, together with the islands of both seas and of the Mediterranean, would furnish a volume of equal interest, and of a very distinct character from either the Grecian, Thracian, or Anatolian provinces of this vast empire *. The greater part of this territory might once have been termed Venetian; it is rapidly becoming British. As the capital of Ali Pasha's dominions has, however, been so frequently referred to, and Roumelia was for so long a

* Egypt and Arabia also belong to the series requisite to complete a description of the Turkish empire.

Digitized by Google

time subject to the Vizier of Epirus, we shall close our account of European Turkey with a description of Ioannina as it appeared at the time of Dr. Holland's journey in 1812.

IOANNINA.

THIS traveller entered Epirus by the Gulf of Arta. When within ten miles of the city, he entered on a tract of extended plain, gradually widening as he advanced northwards, but bounded on each side by mountain barriers so lofty and precipitous as to diminish much of its apparent breadth. On the eastern side the great chain of Pindus (or Metzovo) towered in all its majesty behind an intermediate range, while, on the western side, the more graceful and picturesque range of Olitzka, the Cassiopean mountains of ancient times, limited the view. The intense clearness of the sky increased the effect, and heightened the enjoyment of the stupendous landscape. There is, however, a nakedness in the plain, arising from the great deficiency of wood. The low eminences by which it is traversed, conceal the city in this direction till the traveller is little more than two miles distant, when a magnificent scene suddenly bursts upon him.

"A large lake spreads its waters along the base of a lofty and precipitous mountain, which forms the first ridge of Pindus on this side, and which, as I had afterwards reason to believe, attains an elevation of more than 2,500 feet above the level of the plain. Opposed to the highest summit of this mountain, and to a small island which lies at its base, a peninsula stretches forwards into the lake from its western shore, terminated by a perpendicular face of rock. This peninsula forms the fortress of Ioannina; a lofty wall is its barrier on the land side; the waters which lie

Digitized by Google

around its outer cliffs, reflect from their surface the irregular yet splendid outline of a Turkish seraglio, and the domes and minarets of two Turkish mosques, environed by ancient cypresses. The eye, receding backwards from the fortress of the peninsula, reposes upon the whole extent of the city, as it stretches along the western borders of the lake. Repose, indeed, it may not unfitly be called, since both the reality and the fancy combine in giving to the scenery the character of a vast and beautiful picture spread out before the sight. No volumes of smoke, nor even the sounds of carriages and men, break into this delusion of the distant view: the tranquillity of the Turkish character is conveyed to the Turkish city also, and even to the capital of the chief who governs the warlike and half-civilised Albanian tribes. You are not here looking merely upon a lengthened and uniform mass of buildings, so often the only characteristic of an European town; but there is before the eye a variety and a richness in the grouping of the objects, which is peculiarly a feature in the cities of the east. The lofty palaces of the Vizier and of his sons, the minarets of numerous mosques, each surrounded by its grove of cypresses, which give something of appropriate sanctity to these places; the singular intermixture of houses and trees throughout every part of the city, a circumstance more striking from the want of wood in the general landscape; these, together with the noble situation on the lake, and the magnificence of the surrounding mountains, are the features which will most impress the stranger in approaching the capital of Ali Pasha."*

"Ioannina may be described as standing in a great

* Approached from the north and west, Dr. Holland says, the effect is still finer.

Digitized by Google

basin, environed by mountains, the city itself stretching along the western shores of a lake, which, on its opposite side, washes the foot of one of these mountain boundaries. The length of this lake may be about six miles; its breadth nowhere exceeds two miles; and near the central part of the city, its channel is much narrowed by the projecting peninsula which forms the fortress of Ioannina, and by the small island which is opposed to it on the other shore: these two features add greatly to the beauty of the scenery from every point of view. The peninsula of the fortress, widening as it advances into the lake, is terminated by two distinct promontories of rock; on one of which stands a large Turkish mosque, its lofty minaret and extensive piazzas shaded by the cypresses surrounding it; on the other promontory, the old Seraglio of the Pashas of Ioannina, a large building, with all that irregular and indefinable magnificence which belongs to Turkish architecture; the minaret and cypresses of a second mosque rising above its projecting roofs and painted walls. The area of the fortress, which forms a small town in itself, is insulated from the rest of the city, by a lofty stone wall and a broad moat which admits the waters of the lake.

"The island opposite the city is picturesque in its outline, and embellished by a small palace of the Vizier's, which is seen upon its shore. A village on its northern side is almost hidden by the luxuriant foliage of the chestnut and plane trees growing amongst its habitations. The traveller will do well to ascend the highest point of the isle, whence there is a most imposing view of the city and the buildings on the cliffs of the fortress.

"The banks of the lake present many other objects to engage the eye;—the great Seraglio, which, from

Digitized by Google

some points of view, seems to rise from its shore; a painted Kiosck, projecting over the waters, below the rocks of the old Seraglio; a convent of dervishes, shaded by trees, further to the north; but above all, the mountain ridge of Metzoukel, which, with a height probably between 2,500 and 3,000 feet above the lake, forms, almost as far as the view extends, a continuous and unbroken boundary to the valley; rising from the water's edge, opposite to Ioannina, with an abruptness and majesty of outline, the effect of which is highly magnificent. Its precipitous front is intersected by the ravines of mountain torrents; which, expanding as they approach the lake, are covered with wood, and form the shelter to many small villages. It is said that formerly there were more extensive forests on this mountain ascent; but that they were destroyed, as being the resort of bands of robbers who infested the tranquillity of the city. Considering the general absence of wood from the landscape, the scenery of Ioannina is, perhaps, less perfect than had these forests been still preserved: still, it is such as may be considered to have few equals in variety and magnificence.

"The extent of the city, as it stretches backwards and laterally from the fortress, is greater than the same population would occupy in the towns of other parts of Europe. Besides the vacant spaces of the mosques and Turkish burying-grounds, all the better houses, both of Turks and Greeks, have areas attached to them, in which there generally grow a few trees, giving to the general view of the place that singular intermixture of buildings and wood which has already been noticed. The central part of the city, occupied in great part by the streets forming the bazars, is the only one where much continuity is preserved; and

Digitized by Google

here the houses are, in general, much lower and smaller than elsewhere. The breadth of the town, which nowhere exceeds a mile and a half, is defined by a range of low eminences, running parallel to the shore of the lake, and affording, from their summit, one of the most striking views of the city, the lake, and the distant heights of the Pindus chain.

"The interior aspect of Ioannina, except where there is some opening to the landscape that surrounds it, is gloomy and without splendour. Few of the streets preserve an uniform line; a circumstance which makes the topography of the place very difficult to the stranger. Those inhabited by the lowest classes consist, in great part, of wretched, mud-built cottages, and are chiefly in the outskirts of the city: the middle ranks dwell in a better description of buildings, the upper part of which is constructed of wood, with a small open gallery under the projecting roof: the higher classes, both of Greeks and Turks, have, in general, very large houses, often forming two or three sides of the areas attached to them, and with wide galleries which go along the whole front of the building, taken as it were from the first floor, and sheltered under the roofs. In this style of building, which is common throughout the Turkish towns, there is something picturesque in the distant effect, which is lost in the nearer approach. In the best streets of Ioannina, there is an air of heaviness: and the most respectable houses have the aspect of prisons; presenting externally, little more than lofty walls, with massive, double gates, and the windows, if seen at all, at the top of the building.

"The bazars form the most interesting part of the city. They consist of ten or twelve streets, intersecting each other at irregular angles; very narrow; and

Digitized by Google

still further darkened by the low, projecting roofs and large, wooden booths, in which the goods are exposed to sale.

"The Seraglio of Ali Pasha is an immense pile of building, lofty in itself, and situated on an eminence which gives it command over every part of the city. It may not unfitly be termed a palace upon and within a fortress. High and massive stone walls, on different parts of which cannon are mounted, support a superstructure of wood, of great extent, but apparently without any regularity of plan: the several portions of the edifice seem to have been successively added, as a necessity was found for its enlargement. Yet, notwithstanding this irregularity, the magnitude and character of the building give it an air of magnificence, which is not always obtained by a more rigid adherence to architectural rules. The style of construction is entirely Turkish; the roofs projecting far beyond the face of the buildings, the windows disposed in long rows underneath; the walls richly decorated with painting, occasionally landscape, but more generally what is merely ornamental, and without uniform design. The access to the Seraglio is exceedingly mean. It is surrounded by narrow and gloomy streets, without any circumstance to mark the approach to the palace of the Albanian ruler."

Ioannina contained at this time, sixteen mosques, seven or eight Greek churches, and a motley population,—Greeks, Turks, Albanians, Franks, Jews, Arabs, Moors, and Negroes, amounting to upwards of 30,000 persons, exclusive of the Albanian soldiers quartered there. The Greeks were at once the most numerous, the most respectable, and the oldest inhabitants of the city, many of their families having been established there for centuries. But Ioannina, at least

Digitized by Google

the Ioannina of Ali Pasha, is no more, having been pillaged and burned by his own orders, in 1820, to prevent its affording a shelter and triumph to his enemies.* The Athens of Modern Greece, the capital of the transitory kingdom of the new Epirus, has passed away, and this portion of Ancient Greece has been thrown back again into Albanian barbarism. Happily, the islands of the Ionian Sea, which have been so singularly rescued from Turkish and Russian despotism, and protected from the exterminating fury of the revolutionary contest, offer an asylum to the nascent literature of Modern Greece, while they will prove, we trust, at all events, the nursery as well as bulwark of Grecian civilization and freedom. The language of Shakspeare, and Milton, and Byron,—the only one fit for a Greek except his own,—will ere long diffuse itself over the Levant, and with it a renovating spirit, the influence of English laws, and the light of Scriptural Christianity. The Turkish empire is tottering to its fall, and a nobler race is rising, to justify hereafter their claim to the long-dishonoured name of Greeks.

* See Mod. Trav., Greece, vol. i. p. 108.

THE END.

London: Printed by W. Clowes, Stamford Street.

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

33 rods = 60 ft

11/2/13

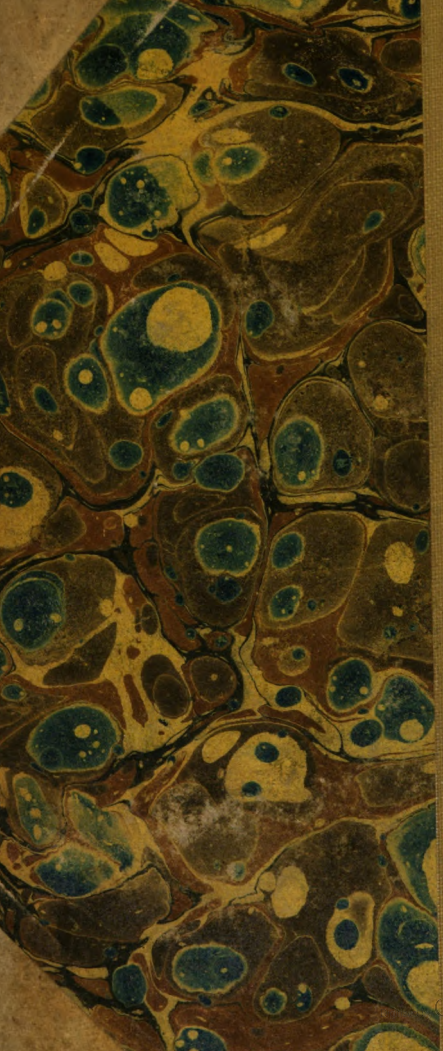
Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

THE BORROWER WILL BE CHARGED THE COST OF OVERDUE NOTIFICATION IF THIS BOOK IS NOT RETURNED TO THE LIBRARY ON OR BEFORE THE LAST DATE STAMPED BELOW.

FEB 2 7 197

CANCELLED


Google